5-2001

The re-emergenge of a Tory-court party : peers of the Bloomsbury Gang and founders of modern British conservatism

Matthew Thomas Locy Corkern

ABSTRACT

THE RE-EMERGENCE OF A TORY-COURT PARTY:
PEERS OF THE BLOOMSBURY GANG AND
FOUNDERS OF MODERN BRITISH CONSERVATISM

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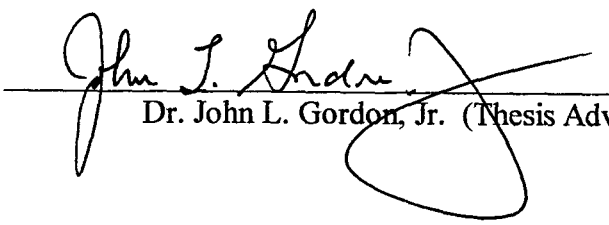
Master of Arts Degree in History
University of Richmond
May 2001

Dr. John L. Gordon, Jr., Thesis Director

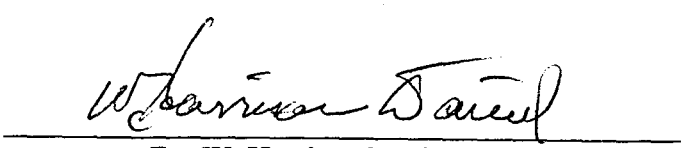
From October 1768 to April 1784, the "Bloomsbury Gang," a political faction of intermarried, aristocratic families dedicated to conservative principles and patriotic sentiments, led the re-emergence of a Tory-Court party that developed into the modern Conservative party in Great Britain. These leaders founded a party of "Conservative Whigs" that was not ruled by, but worked in cooperation with, the monarch and his allies for almost three decades. In so doing, political opportunists such as the Duke of Bedford and the Lords Gower, Sandwich, and Weymouth, restored the English two-party system through which they maintained their dominance of eighteenth-century British society and governance.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



Dr. John L. Gordon, Jr. (Thesis Advisor)

Dr. John R. Rilling



Dr. W. Harrison Daniel

1 September 2000

Date of Thesis Defence

THE RE-EMERGENCE OF A TORY-COURT PARTY: PEERS OF THE BLOOMSBURY GANG AND FOUNDERS OF MODERN BRITISH CONSERVATISM

By

MATTHEW THOMAS LOCY CORKERN

B.A., University of Richmond, 1995

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the University of Richmond

in Candidacy

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History

May 2001

Richmond, Virginia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Having had an interest in and affection for Great Britain from my childhood, I have endeavored to become well-versed in the social and political history of pre-modern Britain. My areas of greatest concentration have been the Stuart and Georgian periods, with a gradual movement toward modern Britain. Since my return to Richmond for graduate school, my academic work has focused primarily within the Georgian epoch (1714-1832) with its aristocratic and imperialist advances. With a broad concentration in the social, religious, and economic contexts of these times, I have narrowed my focus to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, believing passionately in the importance of the study of the House of Lords and the Church of England. The significant roles of these two institutions in shaping the history of the "British" world before 1914 are of particular interest.

This thesis will focus first on Daniel Baugh's "social realities and political relationships" leading up to and during the twelve-year regime of Frederick, Lord North. It revolves around one general theory: the re-emergence of a Tory-Court party that was not ruled by, but worked in cooperation with the monarch. Those reading this paper will witness George III's master-conception of a reliable party under his influence, but kept in power by aristocratic members of the "Bloomsbury Gang" faction. Conclusively, this thesis explores the re-emergence of these men as the Conservative Whigs in the three decades following George III's accession, and the role they played in founding the modern Tory (Conservative) party.

Another important point is the underlying examination of the peerage during the years 1768 to 1784. Through the twenty-five peers I have chosen to study, one is able to glimpse the cultural aspects, Court privileges, family dynamics, and landed perspectives of the Georgian elite. Well aware of their own economic wealth, hereditary connections, political authority, and social prestige, these men and their noble colleagues were a class-conscious group willing to admit those willing to assimilate. Sir Lewis Namier once wrote: "Anyone can enter English society provided he can live, think, and feel like those who have built up its culture in their freer, easier hours." Hence, these were years when the peerage was the trump of the monarch and his associates.

I have endeavored to move from a broad analysis to a concentrated investigation of the thirty local and national peers listed below. These accomplished men were, according to noble precedence: Richmond, Grafton, Bedford, Devonshire, Portland, Leeds, Marlborough, Rockingham, Temple (Buckingham), Shelburne (Lansdowne), Gower (Stafford), Weymouth (Bath), Hillsborough (Downshire), Cornwallis, Suffolk, Sandwich, Bristol, Carlisle, Dartmouth, Rochford, Fitzwilliam, North (Guildford), Bathurst, Stormont (Mansfield), Liverpool, Sackville of Drayton, Camdam, Sydney, and Thurlow. Important to note, while this study is primarily political, an underlying tone reveals the cultural, social, and ecclesiastical lives of these men and their families in their eighteenth-century context. I discuss their collective impact on the monarchy, the Church of England, the peerage, the American colonial conflict, and the domestic and foreign policies of the Governments which held power from 1768 to 1784. Overall, the study of these men – who debated each other, but together controlled the House of Lords during

the encapsulated period – helps to explore and embody the fascinating motifs of this thesis.

MTLC
Richmond, Virginia
August 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the pleasures at the end of researching and writing such a paper is that you can thank those who have given assistance through the process. The author is greatly indebted to his thesis director, Dr. John L. Gordon, Jr., for his suggestions and guidance; and to Drs. John R. Rilling and W. Harrison Daniel for their insightful comments.

I am grateful to numerous members of the present aristocracy and their staffs for permission and suggestions in consulting family papers, correspondence, and published records. Those who have been personally very helpful with information or in accommodating a visit include the Duchess of Devonshire, the Duke of Grafton, K.G., the Bishop of Winchester, the Marquess of Bath, the Marquess of Downshire, the Marquess and Marchioness of Anglesey, the Earl of Powis, Lords North and Strathnaver, Lady Barbara Kwiatkowski, Lady Morrison, and Mr. and Mrs. R.J.G. Berkeley. To all I should like here to express my gratitude.

It is with the deepest respect that I acknowledge and salute the occupants and staffs of Berkeley Castle, Blenheim Palace, Castle Howard, Chatsworth, Dunrobin Castle, Euston Hall, Goodwood House, Longleat House, Madresfield Court, Waldershare Park, Woburn Abbey, and Wolvesey Palace. I wish particularly to mention those highly competent archivists, curators, and assistants: Mrs. Rose-Mary Baird, Mrs. Linda Campbell, Mrs. Maurag Carmichael, Mr. Peter Day, Mr. Paul Duffie, Mrs. Evelyne Eyre, Dr. Kate Harris, Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Ms. Valerie Lambirth, Ms. Joan McAllister, Mr. Charles Noble, Mrs. Vivian Toop, Mrs. Lavinia Wellicome, and Miss Dorothy Williams.

I wish to express especial gratefulness for the sage advice and wisdom of those scholars who share a similar love of the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century families, who greatly influenced the future of the British world: Jeremy Black, Catherine Clinton, Harry Dickinson, Brian Masters, Eric Miller, Leslie Mitchell, and Hugo Vickers.

Permission to reproduce portraits and paintings in public collections and in private hands is gratefully acknowledged with each illustration, and due credit is likewise recorded within the *Photographic Acknowledgements* near the end. I should first like to recognize Mr. John R. Alley for his effort in making my illustrations possible. Second, I must thank all those who remained helpful despite my endless inquiries: Dr. Jane Cunningham (Courtald Institute); Mr. Alex Kitson (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool); Mr. James Kilvington (National Portrait Gallery); Miss Kimberly Hirst and Mrs. Marilyn Hunt (Yale Center for British Art); Ms. Marie McFeily (National Gallery of Ireland); Mr. David Taylor (National Maritime Museum); Ms. Christine Turfit (Twickenham Library); and Mr. Robert Lines (Church Commissioners for England).

Last but far from least, I must express gratitude for the Boatwright Library staff. Not only a delight to work with, but also always forthcoming with unique ideas were the Reference Librarians, Mr. Bill Sudduth and Mrs. Lee Stevens, and the indispensable Interlibrary Loan staff, Mrs. Nancy Vick and Mrs. Noreen Cullen. These last two deserve special recognition for the vast amount of time they spent with me and their sincere efforts in locating numerous rare books and endless volumes of microfilm. Special mention must also be made of Mrs. Carolyn Tate who has inspired many with her laughter and witticism.

It is with glad heart that I acknowledge all those men and women above. Yet, I cannot conclude these brief words of thanks without mention of a few extraordinary individuals. The history department's smiling secretarial wonders, Deborah Govoruhk and Mary Anne Wilbourne, will always be remembered with fondness. Invaluable sanity checks and witty comments throughout the final completion of this critique were generously provided by friends: Frank Allen, Kerry Barrett, Luke & Jennifer Deucy, Jonathan Juliufs, Mark & Amanda Morton, and Sam & Stacia Vigneri. To Jerry and Karen Williams who brought me to Richmond, I will forever be appreciative.

To the Wrays, Rillings and Gordons, I will never forget the wise and supportive bonds of friendship and love extended during my times in Virginia. It is out of genuine regard and fondness that I say "thank you" for welcoming me into your families. And to the Scotts, for the camaraderie and hospitality, you were all wonderful hosting and welcoming me as your house-guest on *Beechwood* during my Master's program.

To Jeremy and our "little sister" Sarah, it has been such a delight to witness you both growing into such marvelously inspirational and talented young adults. Most importantly, love and thanks to my devoted parents seems inadequate for all they have done, but it is most sincere.

DEDICATION

To the "Faithful Triumvirate"
that held the "Bloomsbury Gang" together
and instructed their fellow peers
in the Tory arts of Conservatism:

Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk and 5th Earl of Berkshire, K.G.
Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower, K.G. (1st Marquess of Stafford)
Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth, K.G. (1st Marquess of Bath)

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To my grandfather
who taught me the true equality of
being a gentleman and a scholar.
Long may he instruct each generation
of our family!

Granville Leveson-Gower, second Earl Gower, K.G.
[created first Marquess of Stafford, 1784]
From a portrait by George Romney

COURTESY OF ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF SUTHERLAND, AND
MR. ALEX KITSON, DIRECTOR OF THE WALKER ART GALLERY, LIVERPOOL

Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth, K.G.
(created first Marquess of Bath, 1789)
From a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence

COURTESY OF THE PRESENT MARQUESS OF BATH

PROLOGUE: 1769

Gathering of the King's Friends

As dusk approached and the last fragrances of a warm summer day wafted through the casement windows of the Russells' ancestral seat, His Grace The Duke of Grafton[1] knelt with utmost dignity before an assembled crowd of family and friends to wed Miss Elizabeth Wrottesley,[2] and further align himself within the membership of the ascendant "**Bloomsbury Gang.**"[3] As the couple's host and leader of this political faction, John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford,[4] must have been ecstatic at the addition of this influential peer to his circle of associates. Bedford later recorded:

> 1769. June 24th. A little after six in the evening, the Duke of Grafton was married at Woburn Abbey to Miss Betty Wrottesley, by Mr. Morris, my curate here, on an especial license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of all the company now here. My grandchildren were here from Houghton. A little after seven, the new-married couple set out for Wakefield Lodge.[5]

As early as two weeks before this great occasion, the friends and colleagues of these two dukes began to gather, most probably to contemplate their future political

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[1] Augustus Henry FitzRoy, third Duke of Grafton, K.G. (1735-1811).

[2] Miss Elizabeth Wrottesley – third daughter of the Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley, 7th Baronet, and Dean of Worcester – was connected with the "Bloomsbury Gang" through her mother, Lady Mary Leveson-Gower.

[3] A political faction formed through a political-marital alliance between the Leveson-Gowers and the Russells. This appellation was derived when members frequently met at the Russells' London residence in Bloomsbury. They were originally known as the "Bedford Gang" – or the "Bedfordites" – while under the judicious leadership of the fourth Duke, from the mid-1740s until his death in 1770.

[4] John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, K.G. (1710-1770).

[5] Lord John Russell, "Introduction," Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford: Selected From the Originals At Woburn Abbey, 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842-1846), vol. 3: lxxix.

viability. The Russells, ever famous for their extravagant entertainments, held one of their annual balls on the preceding Saturday. During this period, the nobility and their cousins of the landed gentry took every opportunity to entertain and visit each other on their country estates. And so they came – lords, ladies, and gentlefolk in lumbering carriages and fast phaetons accompanied by large and small routines of servants, baggage wagons, and horses, depending on their status.

Though a list of specific guests no longer exists, historians can be certain that the Rigbys, Sandwichs, Gowers, and Weymouths would have been included among "all the company" mentioned above. The men and their wives gathered under this ducal roof were held together through connections based upon the four powers of intermarriage, social status, economic success, and political stamina. This elite group formed the ruling core of the "Bedfordite" coterie, which would soon transition from a mere faction into the inner sanctum of the supreme brotherhood, known as "**The King's Friends.**"[6]

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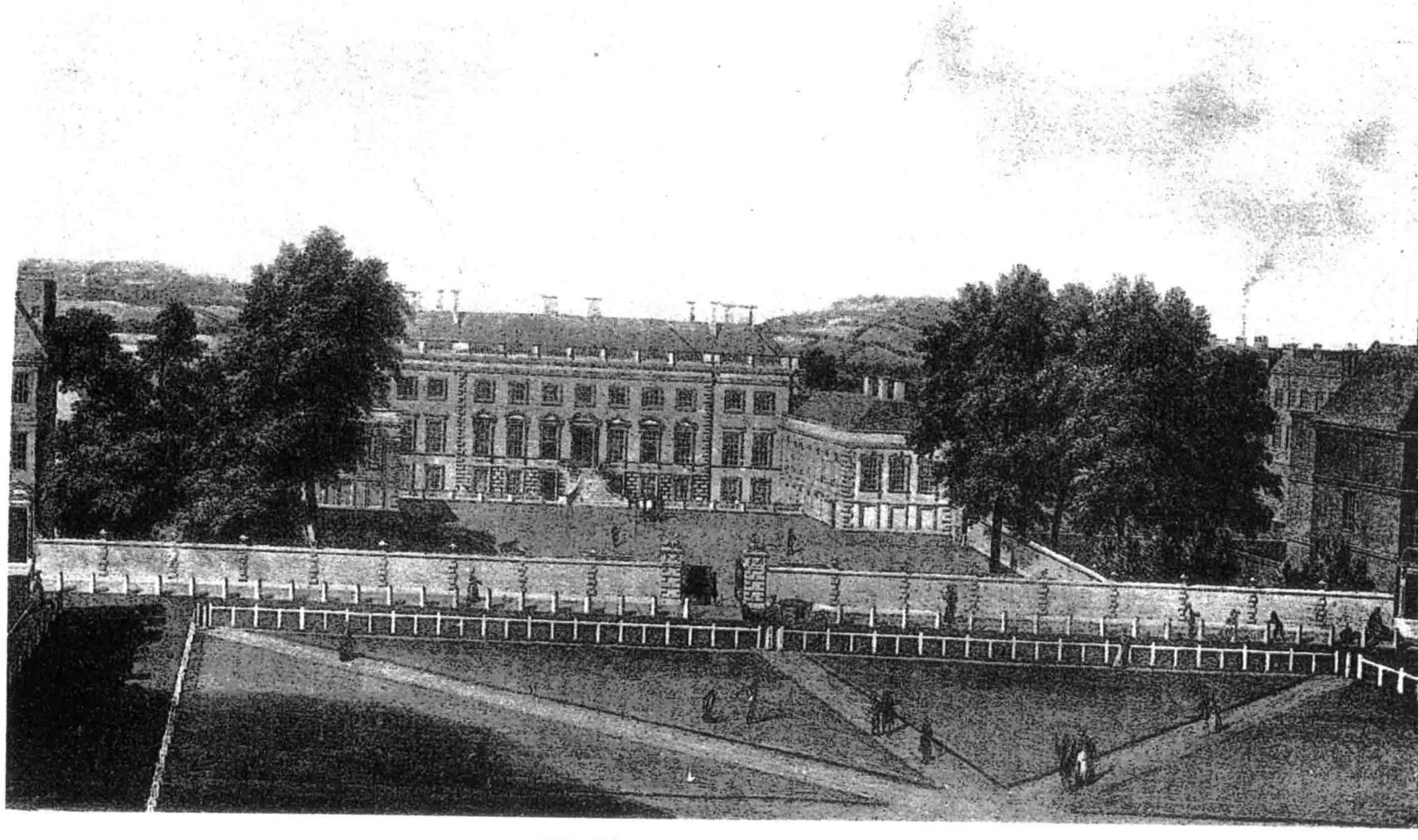
[6] Bernard Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys: Dukes of Grafton Through Four Centuries (London: Hutchinson and Company Limited, 1950), 152, n6. This historian characterized the "King's Friends" as: "Politicians and courtiers, favouring the prerogative, who, in the hope of favours to come, blindly followed what they believed to be the policy of the Crown." For further commentary, read: M.M. Reese, Goodwood's Oak: The Life and Times of the Third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny (London: Threshold Books Limited, 1987), 96-97.



BEDFORD HOUSE, BLOOMSBURY

London Seat of the Dukes of Bedford

From an engraving by Unknown Artist

COURTESY OF THE MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK AND TRUSTEES OF THE BEDFORD ESTATE

I

The British Establishment Revealed Through A Georgian Elite

Seven months and three days after this "Great Gathering" of the Bedford-Grafton Junto, the Duke of Grafton felt compelled to resign as the nominal Premier having "no reliance in the Cabinet, but on General Conway only."[1] Ironically, as many inside and outside this floundering ministry scurried to secure their futures, His Majesty George III – *King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith* – who had been on the throne for almost nine years, remained blissfully silent. Always mindful of his royal prerogatives and deliberate in his ministerial preparations, this savvy monarch had been covertly negotiating with members of the "Bloomsbury Gang" and other faithful courtiers over the previous few months.

After their coalition with other Crown/Court colleagues in December 1769, the Bloomsbury leaders (possessing the most significant political faction) dominated the interests and connexions of the "King's Friends" until their party won a tremendous victory in the April elections of 1784. During this period, these men and their allies became known as the "Conservative Whigs," and laid the foundation for the re-emergent Tory party that developed into the modern Conservative party. When they faded from the

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[1] Sir William R. Anson, Baronet, ed., Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton, K.G. (London, 1898; reprint, Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Company, 1973), 250. The General Henry Seymour Conway (1719-1795) -- brother of the Earl of Hertford, nephew of Horace Walpole, and father-in-law of the Duke of Richmond – was the only non-Bloomsbury member within the *Conciliabulum*, and essentially only person Grafton could trust in those last dark days of 1769.

political landscape having achieved immortality – though only a place in historical footnotes – their sons, nephews, and friends carried the Tory banner aloft in glory toward the future. This is their story! It remains a tale of recognition for a few intermarried political opportunists who worked within the confines of the Court by means of the King's fellowship as well as their own dual-awareness of familial destiny and national obligation.

Having achieved a crucial victory for their aristocratic class with the "Glorious Revolution," the hereditary peerage of England claimed authority and precedence. Between 1689 and 1784, this small phalanx of 182 titled-families, and those county cousins they allowed within their sacred circle, dominated English political and social life. Whatever their talents, interests, and activities, it was their acres that made them the strongest aristocratic oligarchy since the heirs of the Norman Conquest. Of these same eighteenth-century English "Men and Measures," historian Lewis Wiggin observed:

> [Theirs] was a world of a ruling upper class, a finished expression of a manner of living, embodying an entire system of social and economic hopes and fears. It was a world which both protected and enhanced the peculiar position the class had achieved and which, in doing so, controlled the destinies of the larger community to which the class belonged. It was a world characterized by a fine but often strange sense of national and personal obligation and duty; and also by privilege, jealousy, and an equally fine appreciation of personal advancement.[2]

Indeed, despite political differences among these descendants of the Old Whig Corps, the English aristocracy was a cousinhood of social and familial connections. More

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[2] Lewis M. Wiggin, A Faction of Cousins: A Political Account of the Grenvilles, 1733-1763 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 16.

than anything else, these men and women were tied together through genealogical bloodlines and contrived intermarriages. Paul Bloomfield noted: "Families came to be called 'houses' because men who founded families built houses as an outward expression of their success, and set a good deal of store by having sons to perpetuate their name and keep the domain intact."[3] Such beliefs remain consistent with John Habakkuk's observation that "from some eighteenth-century memoirs one might suppose that England was a federation of country houses."[4]

Nostalgia for the past and bloodlines for the future crowded the thoughts and plans of Great Britain's charmed circle of families. Since the beginning of time, genealogies had dictated precedence and stymied upstarts. From the Genesis when God created order out of chaos, specific families had risen to control the destinies of those around them, as well as their own. Thus was the proliferation of the Georgian oligarchy – the world's most powerful group of men and women ever in existence. As G.M. Trevelyan assessed, "the hour was theirs and it was golden."[5]

The basic aristocratic circle of life was based on immemorial traditions and heightened comfort-levels. Each young man was born and educated at his ancestral country-home with siblings by a tutor until old enough to be sent away to board. One entered "public school" and then went up to Oxford or Cambridge. Younger sons who

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[3] Paul Bloomfield, Uncommon People: A Study of England's Elite (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955), 20. This incredible work traces the genealogical traits of "leadership" and "service" through five main common-origin ancestors of Great Britain's elite since the reign of Elizabeth I.

[4] John Habakkuk, "Introduction," in The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century: Studies of the Nobility of the Major European States in the pre-Reform Era, ed. by Albert Goodwin (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), 4.

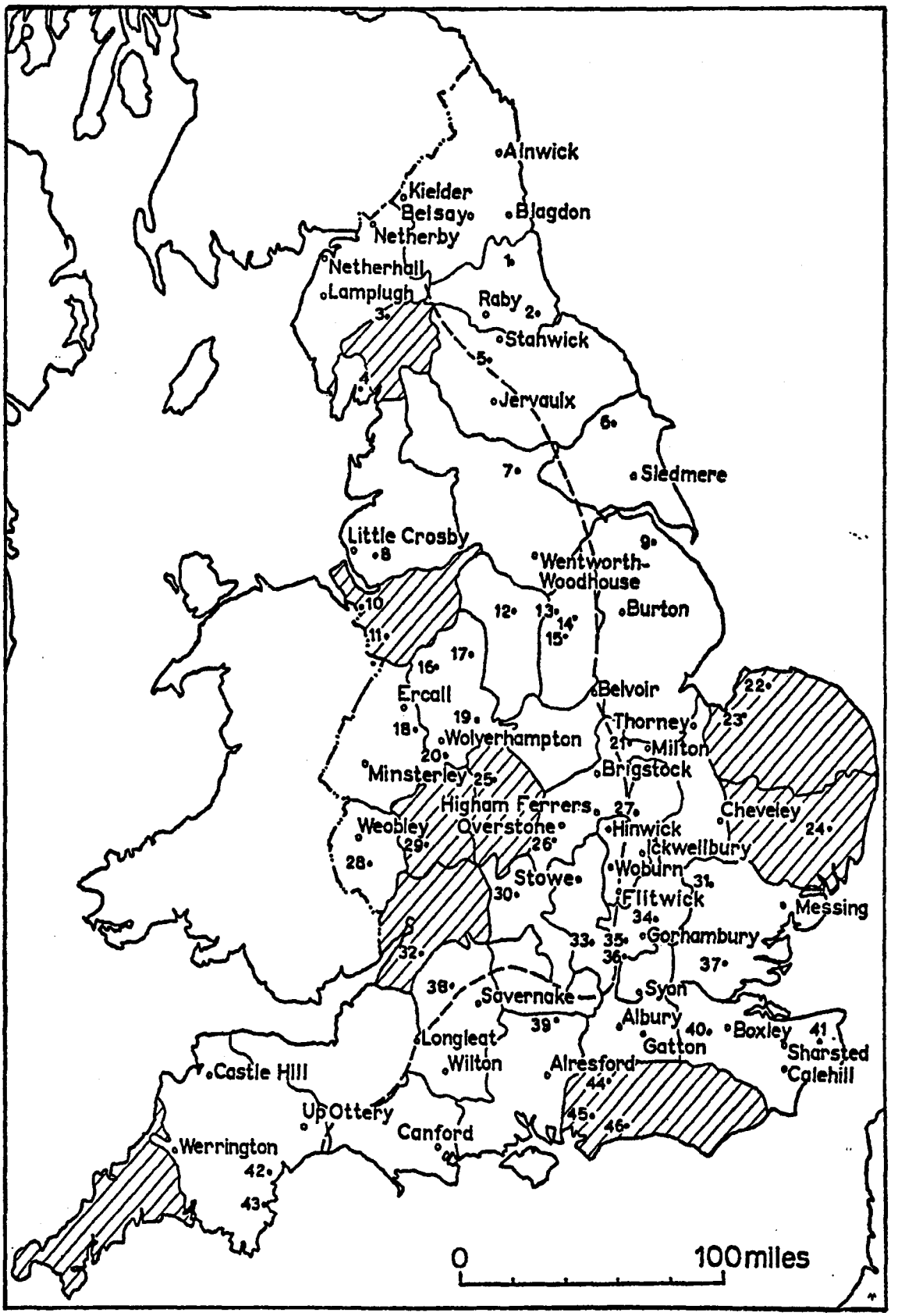
[5] Ouoted in Bloomfield, 61.

This is incorporated from F.M.L. Thompson's English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1963). The adjoining MAP shows the country seats, and the centers of detached estates, which chiefly served as homes of the men mentioned in this thesis. A selection of other country seats is marked by numerals. All except the shaded counties are represented by documentary material in Thompson's study. The line dividing the predominantly corn counties of the east from the grazing counties of the west is from J. Caird, English Agriculture in 1850-51.*

Key to the seats marked by numerals.

1. Lambton
2. Wynyard
3. Lowther
4. Holker Hall
5. Hornby Castle
6. Castle Howard
7. Harewood
8. Knowsley
9. Brocklesby
10. Eaton Hall
11. Cholmondeley Castle
12. Chatsworth
13. Welbeck Abbey
14. Clumber
15. Thoresby
16. Alton Towers
17. Trentham
18. Lilleshall
19. Beaudesert
20. Himley Hall
21. Burghley House
22. Holkham
23. Houghton Hall
24. Euston Hall
25. Ragley Hall
26. Althorp
27. Kimbolton
28. Garnons
29. Madresfield
30. Blenheim
31. Audley End
32. Badminton
33. Ashridge
34. Panshanger
35. Hatfield
36. Cashiobury
37. Thorndon Hall
38. Bowood
39. Strathfieldsaye
40. Knole
41. Bifrons
42. Powderham
43. Berry Pomeroy
44. Petworth
45. Goodwood
46. Arundel

*These same sites and their owners are referenced with G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1963).


Alnwick
Kielder
Belsay
Blagdon
Netherby
Netherhall
Lamplugh
Raby
Stanwick
Jervaulx
Sledmere
Little Crosby
Wentworth-Woodhouse
Burton
Ercall
Belvoir
Thorney
Wolverhampton
Milton
Minsterley
Brigstock
Higham Ferrers
Cheveley
Weobley
Overstone
Hinwick
Ickwellbury
Woburn
Stowe
Flitwick
Messing
Gorhambury
Savernake
Syon
Albury
Boxley
Sharsted
Longleat
Gatton
Wilton
Alresford
Calehill
Castle Hill
Up Ottery
Canford
Werrington
0
100 miles

were not destined to inherit the family titles and lands, would be prepared for a profession in the Church, Law, Army or Diplomatic Service. To sample a taste of freedom and be instilled with a sense of cultural obligation, these men were sent on "Grand Tour" (which could mean a tour around England's ancient monuments for the less affluent or several years in luxurious accommodations in Europe otherwise) to learn how to hobnob with fellow aristocrats, politicians and intellectuals. On his return, the man entered into a suitable marriage arrangement with an heiress of quality. In time, this English gentleman inherited the estates, produced heirs, and then started the process over again.

For the overarching purposes of this thesis, I have concentrated on the two most prominent kinship groups ruling society and the nation: the "Conservative Whigs" and the "New Whigs." By either chance or contemplation, the majority of these nobles and a myriad of their descendants were intermarried and formed the nineteenth-century "Great Grandmotherhood," through the blood and resources of indomitable heiresses. Readers will comprehend that – before the 1780s and 1790s, when their children and grandchildren reconciled through marriages – various factions ruled in the same circles with few similar ancestors. Consequently, Great Britain before wide industrialization was divided along a Whig-Tory axis. Aside from political opposition and pre-existent grain-county divisions, parties such as the Bloomsburys and the Rockinghams frustrated each other over economic changes and reactions.

To this privileged set of families much had been given under glorious Providence.

Accordingly, Edmund Burke[6] advised one particular member not to forget his responsibilities and obligations to serve the nation and its people. He wrote:

> Persons in your station of life ought to have long views. You people of great families and fortunes are not like such as I am, who whatever we may be by the rapidity of our growth and of the fruit we bear, flatter ourselves that while we creep on the ground we belly into melons that are exquisite for size and flavour, yet still we are but annual plants that perish with our season and leave no sort of traces behind us. You, if you are what you ought to be, are the oaks that shade a country and perpetuate your benefits from generation to generation. The immediate power of a Duke of Richmond or Marquis of Rockingham is not so much of moment; but if their conduct and example hands down their principles to their successors, then their houses become the public repositories & offices of record for the constitution.[7]

Whether a member of the Bloomsburys or the Rockinghams, all landed elites were among those held up by Burke to set examples for their inferiors in every avenue of life. Their years alternated between their rural ancestral homes and their urban town-houses. According to schedule, most members of the British Establishment spent the winter season in London, the summer season in a spa-town like Bath or Cheltenham, and all interspersed months receiving or visiting family and friends on their country estates. While set further apart from the populace by their conspicuous consumption, they were the custodians of social and political order, committed by their vast inheritance to the duty of leading by

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[6] Edmund Burke (1729-1797). To learn more of this fiery political theorist, study: Sir Philip Magnus, Edmund Burke, A Life (New York: Russell and Russell Limited, 1973); Dixon Wecter, Edmund Burke and his Kinsmen (Boulder, CO: Privately Published, 1939); Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., ed., Selected Letters of Edmund Burke (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984); Stanley Ayling, Edmund Burke: His Life and Opinions (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Conor Cruise O'Brien, The Great Melody: A Thematic Biography and Commented Anthology of Edmund Burke (London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1992).

[7] Quoted in Ayling, Edmund Burke, 45.

moral example the communities that depended on them.

On estates running to many thousands of acres, these men built or expanded ancestral homes with local materials and labourers. Their seats of power were enriched – not only with pictures and sculptures acquired on their foreign travels, but also with the work of native artists and designers of whom they were patrons – to make statements and be of comfort. Beyond their parklands and disciplined gardens, their ownership of advowsons and manorial rights influenced the appointment and behavior of local priests and county cousins. They controlled the parliamentary elections, raised the county militia, and formed a community of servants and tenantry for whose work and welfare they were responsible. Consequently, each great house neighborhood took its character from the personality and interests of the lord. Table discussions with tutors, vicars, and visitors, when not of the prospects for hunting or the farm, were most often concerned with landscaping, building, or scholarly learning.

Characterizing these "Aristocratic Century" magnates, Peter Whiteley wrote:

> For a comparatively brief time in English history, a non-royal hereditary elite was the predominant political force in the country, ready to justify its position in terms of a barrier to royal absolutism, on the one hand, and to potential 'democratic' anarchy on the other.[8]

Hence, English society held a golden prospect for members of the "Bloomsbury Gang" and their social equals. It was an interlude between the passions and agitations of the seventeenth-century and the violence born of industrial poverty and the French

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[8] Peter Whiteley, Lord North: The Prime Minister Who Lost America (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), xiii.

Revolution. Landed peers presided over a world untroubled by fanaticism, in which they could maintain without challenge their own standards of propriety, culture, and social obligation. They were, no doubt, preposterous in some of their behavior and assumptions, but they were versatile and confident with an enviable zest for living.

Once again, at the centre of their interests and affections was the family, and it is important to recognize what this meant to men like Bristol, Gower, Richmond, and Weymouth. These men served as the head of the family and the focus of a close-knit loyalty overriding personal disagreements or conflicting ambitions. In any crisis, the patriarch was to be consulted and his decisions regarded. The head of the family was *paterfamilias* almost in the old Roman sense, responsible not only for any children of his own but for brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, all of whom in some degree acknowledged his authority. Hence, it was to their homes – their domains – and their own people that they retreated and retired from public life. They rightly understood that "Britain's past...would safeguard the future freedom of her people."

To borrow the words written by John Langton Sanford and Meredith Townsend in 1865, this effort was my attempt,

> to elucidate the half-forgotten but cardinal fact of British constitutional history, the existence in the empire of a few great families who have exercised from age to age an unbroken influence upon its policy....[with] the single uniform fact being that they can survive everything except the loss of their lands.[9]

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[9] John Langton Sanford and Meredith Townsend, The Great Governing Families of England, 2 vols. (London, 1865 edition; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 1:12.

Therefore, an accurate description summarizing these *Great Governing Families* might read: "England is governed in times of excitement by its people; in quiet times by its property."[10]

To gain an understanding of the world in which the "Bloomsbury Gang" operated, historians must look to the imposing social structure that existed during the "Aristocratic Century" – so called for the dominance of the landed elite in most facets of life. Georgian society was divided according to order and respectability. The concept of "class" developed over time to describe the broad horizontal strata of society. Though various arrangements characterize this prodigious pyramid, most historians agree that each level "had its respective obligations and responsibilities as well as rights and privileges."[11]

Writers, demographers, and statisticians drew up charts and diagrams to explain the nature of the British social hierarchy. In 1696, Gregory King calculated figures for the year 1688 based on the Hearth Tax and other data, and then published a book detailing status categories according to contemporary perspectives of how to divide society. He ranked people by status rather than wealth. These twenty-six "ranks, degrees, titles, and qualifications" ranged from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal to vagrants.[12] Modern historians place these twenty-six into three distinct classes:

First six categories	-----	landed gentry
Next twelve categories	-----	middle-class
Last eight categories	-----	lower-class

[10] Sanford and Townsend, 1:1.
[11] J.F.C. Harrison, ed., Society and Politics In England, 1780-1960: A Selection of Readings and Comments (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1965), 3.
[12] See attached chart as printed within M. Dorothy George, England In Transition: Life and Work in the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953).

GREGORY KING'S ESTIMATE, 1696, 'CALCULATED FOR THE YEAR 1688', BASED ON THE HEARTH TAX, & C. *

No. of heads of families		*Heads per family*	*No. of persons*	*Yearly income per family*	*Yearly income and expense per head*	
Landed Gentry				£ s.	£ s.	£ s.
160	Temporal lords	40	6,400	2,800 0	70 0	60 0
26	Spiritual lords	20	520	1,300 0	65 0	55 0
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880 0	55 0	51 0
600	Knights	13	7,800	650 0	50 0	46 0
3,000	Esquires	10	30,000	450 0	45 0	42 0
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280 0	35 0	32 10
The Middling Sort						
5,000	Persons in offices	8	40,000	240 0	30 0	27 0
5,000	Persons in offices	6	30,000	120 0	20 0	18 0
2,000	Merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400 0	50 0	40 0
8,000	Merchants and traders by sea	6	48,000	200 0	33 0	28 0
10,000	Persons in the Law	7	70,000	140 0	20 0	17 0
2,000	Clergy	6	12,000	60 0	10 0	9 0
8,000	Clergy	5	40,000	45 0	9 0	8 0
40,000	Freeholders (better sort)	7	280,000	84 0	12 0	11 0
120,000	Freeholders (lesser sort)	5 ½	660,000	50 0	10 0	9 2
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	44 0	8 15	8 10
15,000	Persons in sciences and liberal arts	5	75,000	60 0	12 0	11 10
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4 ½	225,000	45 0	10 0	9 10
The Mere Laboring People						
60,000	Artisans and handicrafts	4	240,000	40 0	10 0	9 10
5,000	Naval Officers	4	20,000	80 0	20 0	18 0
4,000	Military officers	4	16,000	60 0	15 0	14 0
	Total persons increasing the wealth of the country		2,675,500			
50,000	Common seaman	3	150,000	20 0	7 0	7 0
364,000	Labouring people and out-servants	3 ½	1,275,000	15 0	4 10	4 12
400,000	Cottages and paupers	3 ½	1,300,000	6 10	2 0	2 5
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14 0	7 0	7 10
			2,795,000			
	Vagrants	(no families)	30,000	2 0	2 0	3 0
	Total persons decreasing the wealth of the country		2,825,000			

*Taken from Dorothy George, England in Transition (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953).

King organized his hierarchy around a horizontal division which distinguished those who "increased wealth of kingdom" from those who "decreased wealth." People above the line had surplus income over expenditure, while those below spent more than they earned. This lower group was placed as the amorphous mass – "the Poor." This pioneering statistician, whose work was far from perfect, believed,

> that the least a family...could live on, without getting into debt or taking poor relief or charity, was about £40 a year. He believed that peers' families netted about £2,800 (an underestimation: their purses were perhaps twice as big), but most of the working population lived below breadline.[13]

Shortly after the Hanoverian succession, Daniel Defoe studied society and made the bold assertion that Britain's people could be divided not only by status and wealth, but also according to how they lived. His sevenfold division was:

1. The great, who live profusely
2. The rich, who live plentifully
3. The middle sort, who live well
4. The working trades, who labour hard, but feel no want
5. The country people, farmers etc. who fare indifferently
6. The poor, who fare hard
7. The miserable, that really pinch and suffer want[14]

Along Defoe's same line of reasoning, Joseph Massie repeated King's previous scheme of analyzing the familial income and expenses of England's families for the year 1759-1760. However, in place of King's six upper ranks, Massie identified twelve categories according to the annual incomes and expenditures of the landed elite.[15]

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[13] Quoted in Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century (NY: Penguin Books, 1983), 28.
[14] *Ibid.*, 67-68.
[15] This chart may be found in William Speck, Stability and Strife: England, 1714-1760 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1977).

Regardless of how contemporary statisticians divided the British pyramid of society, it was strategically divided between "The Establishment" and "The People." The former was composed of the Royal Family, the aristocracy,[16] and any others within the tiny elite that governed. The latter referred to the general population. According to Henry Fielding, "All the people in Great Britain except about 1,200" were classified as, and called, "NOBODY," by the elite.[17] Fortunately, this cynical wordsmith was exaggerating, for although everyone adhered to and recognized social boundaries, all levels of British people believed in the equality and freedoms set forth by the unwritten but very real Constitution. "Though snobbish, [Georgian England] certainly was not a 'caste' society – one in which people are riveted in place by blood, pedigree, and birth."[18]

In the early nineteenth-century, near the end of George III's reign, statistician Patrick Colquhoun crafted what he called "A Map of Society."[19] Published in 1814, this work encompassing the entire United Kingdom,[20] was based upon the Census Returns of 1801 and the Pauper Returns of 1803. He gave his reason for this scholarship, as:

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[16] I define "*aristocracy*" as all great landowners. This term generally classifies the nobility, baronetage, and upper-gentry ("Great Commoners"), but excludes members of the "*squirearchy*" as small landholders. The real difficulty for historians lies in determining the appropriate label for "Country Gentlemen" who appeared in either category.

[17] Quoted in Porter, 75.

[18] *Ibid.*, 68.

[19] See attached chart from Patrick Colquhoun, A Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire (London: J. Mawman, 1814). Cognizant of this study, John Habakkuk wrote: Population Growth and Economic Development since 1750 (New York: Humanities Press, 1971).

[20] In 1801, Great Britain aligned with Ireland to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland. Irish unification brought 28 representative peers and 4 bishops to the English House of Lords. This alliance as well as commercial reformation had long been on the agendas of many Anglo-Irish peers. In his final reported speech before the English Lords (1786) Lord Hillsborough called for union with Ireland "as the best method of connecting and consolidating the interests of both kingdoms." William Cobbett, ed., The Parliamentary History of England, From the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, 36 vols. (London: T.C. Hansard, 1813; reprint, New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966), 25:996.

"A Map of Society"*

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1814

	Heads of Families	Total Persons Comprising Their Families
Highest Orders		
1st. The Royal Family, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Great Officers of State, and all above the degree of a Baronet, with their families...	576	2,880
Second Class		
2d. Baronets, Knights, Country Gentlemen, and others having large incomes, with their families...	46,861	234,305
Third Class		
3d. Dignified Clergy, persons holding considerable employments in the State, elevated situations in the law, eminent Practitioners in Physic, considerable merchants, Manufacturers upon a large scale, and bankers of the first order, with their families...	12,200	61,000
Fourth Class		
4th. Persons holding inferior situations in Church and state, respectable Clergy men of different persuasions, practitioners in law and Physic, Teachers of Youth of the superior order, respectable Freeholders, Ship owners Merchants and Manufacturers of the second class, warehousemen and respectable Shopkeepers, Artists, respectable Builders, Mechanics, and Persons living on moderate incomes, with their families...	233,650	1,168,250
Fifth Class		
5th. Lesser Free holders, Shopkeepers of the second order, inn-Keepers, Publicans, and Persons engaged in miscellaneous occupations of living on moderate incomes, with their families...	564,799	2,798,475
Sixth Class		
6th. Working Mechanics, Artisans, Handicrafts, agricultural labourers, and others who subsist by labour in various employments, with their families...	2,126,095	8 ,792,800
menial Servants...		1 ,279,923
Seventh, or Lowest Classs		
7th. Paupers and their families, Vagrants, Gipsies, rogues, Vagabonds, and idle and disorderly persons, supported by criminal delinquency...	387,100	1,828,170
The Army and Navy		
Officers of the Army, Navy, and Marines, including all Officers on half-pay and super-annuated, with their families...	10,500	69,000
Non-commissioned Officers in the Army, Navy, and Marines, Soldiers, Seamen, and Marines, *including Pensioners of the Army*, Navy, etc., and their families...	120,000	862,000
TOTAL....	3,501,781	17,096,803

*Taken from Patrick Colquhoun, Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire (1814). Colquhoun (1745-1820), after a mercantile career in his native Scotland and in Virginia, in 1792 migrated to London where he became a magistrate and student of contemporary society. He is best known for his pioneering statistical investigations of the population, poverty, and crime.

> An Attempt To Shew How The New Property In Great Britain And Ireland, Arising From Agriculture, Mines And Minerals, Manufactures, Inland Trade, Foreign Commerce And Shipping, Coasting Trade, Fisheries, And Foreign Income Is Distributed Among The Different Classes Of The Community.[21]

Having crafted seven categories, with the exclusion of all Army and Navy personnel, and all the live-in servants that Gregory King had included within their employers' class, Patrick Colquhoun pointed to a wider gap among classes. Interestingly, this study demonstrated that by the first decade of the nineteenth century, the population of Great Britain had tripled. The peerage alone increased from 170 to 287 families. Overall, this examination not only highlighted the power associations of the aristocracy, but also uncovered that the lower orders were slowly but surely rising from the squalid pasts of their predecessors.

From the above studies, it is quite evident that by the middle of the Georgian epoch, hierarchical levels had shifted as class-consciousness became a prerequisite for social class understanding. Unlike life on the Continent, the upwards and downwards fluidity of society preserved a constancy of British life. A scholar of the aristocracy, Daniel Baugh, maintained that the landed elite "unmistakably reasserted its ancient monopoly of social dignity during the eighteenth-century," thus setting itself up as a gate-keeper to British upward mobility.[22] Similarly, historians like G.E. Mingay, Marjorie Morgan, and Lawrence Stone argued that this elusive concept of social mobility evolved

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[21] Harrison, 5.

[22] Daniel A. Baugh, "Introduction: The Social Basis of Stability," in Aristocratic Government and Society in Eighteenth-Century England: The Foundations of Stability (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975).

from the symbolic mores of patrician Britain.[23] In a recent study of the attitudes and values of British society, historian Jeremy Black observed:

> It is not surprising that power and wealth were concentrated. The hierarchical nature of society and of the dominant political systems, the predominately agrarian nature of the economy, the generally slow rate of change in social and economic affairs, the unwillingness of governments composed of the social elite to challenge fundamentally the interests of their social group or to govern without their cooperation, and the inegalitarian assumptions of the period, all combined to ensure that the concentration of power and wealth remained reasonably constant.[24]

Perhaps one of the best ways to view eighteenth-century Britain is to look at its ruling elite and their devotion to land. As the most prominent members of the British Establishment, the English aristocracy ("significant landholders") dominated all aspects of society and protected their status through legislation. With a majority of their lands entailed,[25] these men maintained the ultimate in a status quo monopoly. Their ancestral incomes, which had once come only from property rents and mineral wealth, were now

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[23] Their ideas of social mobility may be found in: G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1963) and The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class (London: Longmans and Company, 1976); Marjorie Morgan, Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858 (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1994); and Lawrence Stone & Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, An Open Elite?: England, 1540-1880 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[24] Jeremy Black, An Illustrated History of Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1793 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 83.

[25] Lands that were legally "entailed" could not be sold or transferred. Most English landholders were "land tenants-for-life" with no real ownership. To catch a glimpse of their lives in the counties, turn to G.E. Mingay, A Social History of the English Countryside (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1990); Adrian Tinniswood, A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and The National Trust, 1989); John Harris, Georgian Country Houses (Feltham, UK: Country Life Books, 1968); Vita Sackville-West, English Country Houses (London: William Collins, 1941); Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (New Hzaven: Yale University Press, 1978); and Gervase Jackson-Stops, ed., The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

greatly enhanced by capital investments and chances taken on industrialization efforts.[26] Families like the Russells and the Grosvenors acquired great urban real-estate holdings, which continue to the present.

As this was a patrilineal society, the law of primogeniture dictated that all lands and titles passed directly from generation to generation via the eldest son. In the wealthier families, not completely controlled by entailment, a husband usually bequeathed a "widow's jointure" or set of "dower-lands" on his wife, while settling "stipends" or "dowries" on his younger sons and daughters. As social historian Roy Porter explained:

> Family continuity was the keynote of magnate success; the individual title-holder was the ancestral baton-carrier in the relay race of family destiny. Inheritance was everything. Male primogeniture ensured that estates were not broken up. The eldest son came into the lands *en bloc*; younger sons got a consolation prize of money and a leg-up into a profession [usually the Church, Law, Army or Navy].[27]

Despite this predilection for the first-born and traditional views of aristocratic parents being reserved with their children, family historian Randolph Trumbach, in researching eighteenth-century kinship relations, found that by the 1780s the majority of

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[26] M.E. Turner with J.E. Beckett and Bethanie Afton, Agricultural Rent in England, 1690-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. An alternative focus is found in John Habakkuk, Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1914 (Oxford: 1994), and Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1950).

[27] Porter, 71. M.L. Bush, in The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 35, concluded that "the paucity of corporate privileges made landownership and life-style of prime importance in the identification of aristocratic status, while the tendency for privileges to pass by primogeniture safeguarded against the mass production of impoverished cadet lines." For a full exploration of Britain's ruling families, read: JohnV. Beckett, The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Limited, 1986); Roy Perrott, The Aristocrats: A Portrait of Britain's Nobility and their Way of Life (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968); Douglas Sutherland, The Landowners (London: Blond Limited, 1968); and Marion Yass, The English Aristocracy (London: Wayland Limited, 1974);

aristocrats formed close bonds of affection at all levels of their households. For those within the highest echelons, domesticity eventually replaced patriarchy at home. But important to remember, these men, despite engendering equitable relations with their wives and children, remained aggressive and often harsh as the political and societal leaders of British and world affairs, especially in later terms of universal suffrage. Trumbach concluded that "domesticity was the most valuable legacy that the eighteenth-century aristocrat gave to the Victorian lord."[28]

To grasp the subtleties of "rank" among these men and their families, one must explore the various levels of British status. After the reigning monarch and his or her immediate heirs, the English aristocracy was divided among the nobility, the baronetage, and the upper-gentry. Over time, the squirearchy ("lower gentry") appeared distinct from the middling-sort because they owned small tracts of land and held pockets of influence in business and politics. Under these, the middle and lower orders of society were even more defensive and paranoid about their classifications, especially those staff members arranged by hierarchy in the great houses. It was not until the coming of factories and railways that norms of time and wages could be established at a national level, and with them a sense of working-class consciousness.

While proud of being distinct from the masses, most members of the gentry were

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[28] Randolph Trumbach, The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1978), 292. For those interested in historical as well as psychological family relationships, this book is quite fascinating. Equally informative is Judith Schneid Lewis, In the Family Way: Childbearing in the British Aristocracy, 1760-1860 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Flora Fraser, The English Gentlewoman (London: Barries and Jenkins, 1987); and Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977).

never content to remain outside the ruling class. Each generation was instilled with the urgency to further the family's place in society. Many middle-class citizens became known as gentlemen once they acquired respectability through land ownership and intermarriage with deep-rooted county families. Several leading merchants – to whom money was no consideration – lived better than some European princes, having purchased town-houses and country estates. Those who could afford or prove a coat-of-arms were always accorded superior distinction, especially if the county visitations of royal heralds confirmed such armorial bearings. By the end of the eighteenth century, the "professions"[29] had even acquired an aura of respectability among their upper-class clients.

The gentry was an enormous group constantly swelled with younger sons[30] excluded from the peerage by primogeniture from the top, and successful businessmen and farmers lifted up from the bottom. Because of the fluidity of this group, society was characterized as mobile, but was in truth fairly limited by the pugnacious elite wanting to pick and choose those they admitted into their precious inner-sanctum. One tier higher in prestige than the gentry was the baronetage. This group's original membership could be traced to 1611 in the difficult pre-Civil War times, when King James I created and sold these designations to raise revenue for the Crown. Baronets, neither members of the

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[29] The *professions* were composed of clergymen, physicians, lawyers, professors, bankers, and officers in the Army or Navy. Though the rise of these men is peripheral to this study, their story has been told by Peter Earle, The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730 (London: Methuen Publishers, 1989); and Leonore Davidoff & Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 (London: Hutchinson Press, 1987). Such members excelled and are discussed in F.M.L. Thompson's look at the 19th-century Landed Elites.

[30] Unlike their European counterparts who demanded special treatment according to the sanctity of any possessing "blue-blood" but were excluded from commercialism, these English scions or cadet-lines of the great nobles became "commoners" unregulated in their economic activities.

peerage nor the gentry, were bearers of hereditary knighthood.

At the highest pinnacle of the British pyramid, all members of the nobility divided into one of two categories: Lords-spiritual[31] and Lords-temporal. The first, acknowledged as the princes of the Established Church of England, was composed of two archbishops (Canterbury and York) and twenty-four bishops spread among the cathedrals of England and Wales.[32] The two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester sat in the House of Lords by right, while the others took seats in seniority of consecration. However, unlike their secular counterparts, their episcopal sees were not only non-hereditary, but also limited to twenty-six by statute. Not surprisingly, though a few retained Laudian beliefs,[33] most were Latitudinarians,[34] not caring what their congregations believed as long as they acknowledged a Christian belief.

The second group, known as the Lords-temporal or the peerage, may be divided into five hereditary estates. These are in order of precedence: Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount, and Baron. Under George III, peerages could be created only when someone had met the dual requirements of possessing landed wealth and rendering some admirable service to the nation. As distinctions of rank, these symbols of patrician authority have

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[31] Issued on 31 December 1831, "The Spectator's Anatomy of the Peerage, no. 183," in The Spectator (London: John Clayton, 1831, 24 pages), 4. "The qualities of a Bishop are, according to long-established Tory creeds – servility, decorum, and recondite learning (readily procured or pretended)...." 96% of the Church hierarchy resulted from family ties – "for to be brother to a lord, is next to being chosen of God."

[32] For a listing of England's Spiritual Peers, see: Appendix E. This includes a short synopsis of the beliefs and practices of eighteenth-century Church leaders as well as a roster of bishops. One particular example may be found in the biographies of the Bishop of Derry: Brian Fothergill, The Mitred Earl: An Eighteenth-Century Eccentric (1974); and William S. Childe-Pemberton, The Earl-Bishop: The Life of Frederick Hervey, Bishop of Derry, Earl of Bristol, 2 vols. (1925).

[33] *Laudian*, derived from Archbishop Laud, means to hold high-church orthodox opinions.

[34] *Latitudinarians* disregarded the attitudes of both high-church Laudians and Evangelical Puritans.

carried special privileges since time immemorial. Compared to continental aristocrats who ALL bore titles and had to accept specific delineated duties in exchange for tax exemptions, English peers were distinctly more privileged as they paid taxes but generally did as they pleased, and as only their eldest sons were allowed to assume the mantle of each peer's immeasurably prestigious dignity.[35]

The most written about and desired rank of any historical period is the Dukedom. This is a special honour reserved historically and generally for the children and grandchildren of monarchs.[36] However, until recent times each monarch has occasionally rewarded a special friend, or significant minister with this pinnacle of social success. At the death of Elizabeth Tudor, all dukedoms were extinct or forfeited under attainder. By the Restoration in 1660, only three existed. Charles II utilized this title to distinguish his illegitimate sons and those friends to whom he was most indebted. Between 1701 and 1760, Queen Anne created seven dukes, George I another ten, and George II only one. Throughout his long reign, George III created only three, the Dukes of Northumberland, Leinster, and Wellington.[37] The last non-royal ducal title went to the Grosvenors in 1874,

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[35] In addition to my own understanding of the British Establishment, I employed the following articles: H.J. Habakkuk, "England's Nobility," and Sir Lewis Namier, "The Social Foundations," in Aristocratic Government and Society, ed. by Baugh, 97-115 and 204-243. For further information on Continental nobilities and their privileges, read: Michael Bush, Noble Privilege: The European Nobility, Volume I (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1983); and Rich Noble, Poor Noble: The European Nobility, Volume II (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

[36] The most authoritative source on this subject remains the work of Brian Masters who researched and wrote through personal friendships with, and anecdotes from, those studied. Brian Masters, The Dukes: The Origins, Ennoblement and History of 26 Families (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1988).

[37] Aside from these three, George III promised few. Often, the response to a request was the assurance that "should His Majesty depart from his present determination to create no dukes outside the royal family, it should be in his/her favor." George IV created only the dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos in 1822, while William IV only the two dukedoms of Sutherland and Cleveland in 1833.

as the Dukes of Westminster.[38] Since this last creation, the House of Windsor maintains a strict rule of creating dukes only among the present Royal Family.

During the 1770s, the nobility as a whole formed a group of 178 titled aristocrats in England and Wales. Men obtained titles either through creation, promotion, or inheritance. Historically, only a few of the peerages, like the earldoms of Northumberland and Berkeley, pre-dated the Tudor regime. Most peerages were relatively new by creation, as a majority of England's noble families were decimated in battle or under laws of attainder during and shortly following the traumatic Wars of the Roses.[39] Peerage rolls remained low under the chameleon-like and often parsimonious Tudors, but soared under the lavish creations of the extravagant Stuarts before and after the Interregnum. Conservative in nature and hesitant with praise, the Hanoverians created a modest number of new peerages: George I (28), George II (39), and George III (47). However, historians must consider that the third George and his ministers promoted more peers than any other monarch until the reign of his granddaughter, Queen-Empress Victoria I.

One form of status that did not fit the hierarchical pyramid was the knighthood. Though historically conferred for military service, by mid-century, the Hanoverians were

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[38] Maintaining her grandfather's opinions, Victoria created only two dukes (Gordon and Westminster) outside her immediate family. This practice was almost broken (though only once) when, in recognition of his services from a grateful Queen and nation after World War II, Sir Winston Churchill was offered the dukedom of Oxford, which he humbly declined. The present Queen continued this tradition by bestowing the dukedom of York on Prince Andrew and the earldom of Wessex on Prince Edward (with letters patent for him to inherit his father's dukedom of Edinburgh), as part of their wedding day blessings. For information on the Georgian Royal Family and their titles, read: John Van der Kiste, George III's Children (Stroud, Gloucestershire: A. Sutton, 1992).

[39] M.L. Bush, English Aristocracy, 37. "By the mid-fifteenth century the peerage was a substantial group, the result of royal generosity, the establishment of new titles of peerage...and the Crown's abandonment of its former practice of only awarding peerages to its near kinsmen."

bestowing this prestigious honour to those who served the Crown faithfully, such as "lawyers, sheriffs, Lord Mayors and admirals."[40] A knighthood was given for life, unless the knight was elected to a higher order. There were four main orders in this period: the Knights of the Garter, Knights of the Bath, Knights of the Thistle, and Knights of St. Patrick. For the curious historian or Irish enthusiast, it might be interesting to view the attached printing, The Installation Banquet of the Knights of St. Patrick.[41] George III inaugurated this Order for the peerage of Ireland during his State Visit to Dublin Castle in March 1783.

Within this world of strict order, the British aristocracy lived privileged existences. As a "class" demanding respect from their fellow patricians as well as those unfortunates below them, all peers and baronets maintained a strict precedence according to the date of their creation patents. For this small island nation beginning to establish a world-wide empire, its rulers, from the heights of their hierarchical spectrum, maintained power on personal levels based on unrequited rivalries and ancient allegiances.[42] Great Britain's temple of government was resolutely founded and sustained upon four pillars: the Crown, the Church, the Parliament, and the localities. As the dominant landlords in local areas, nobles were chosen as Lords-Lieutenant for each county, and members of the gentry were

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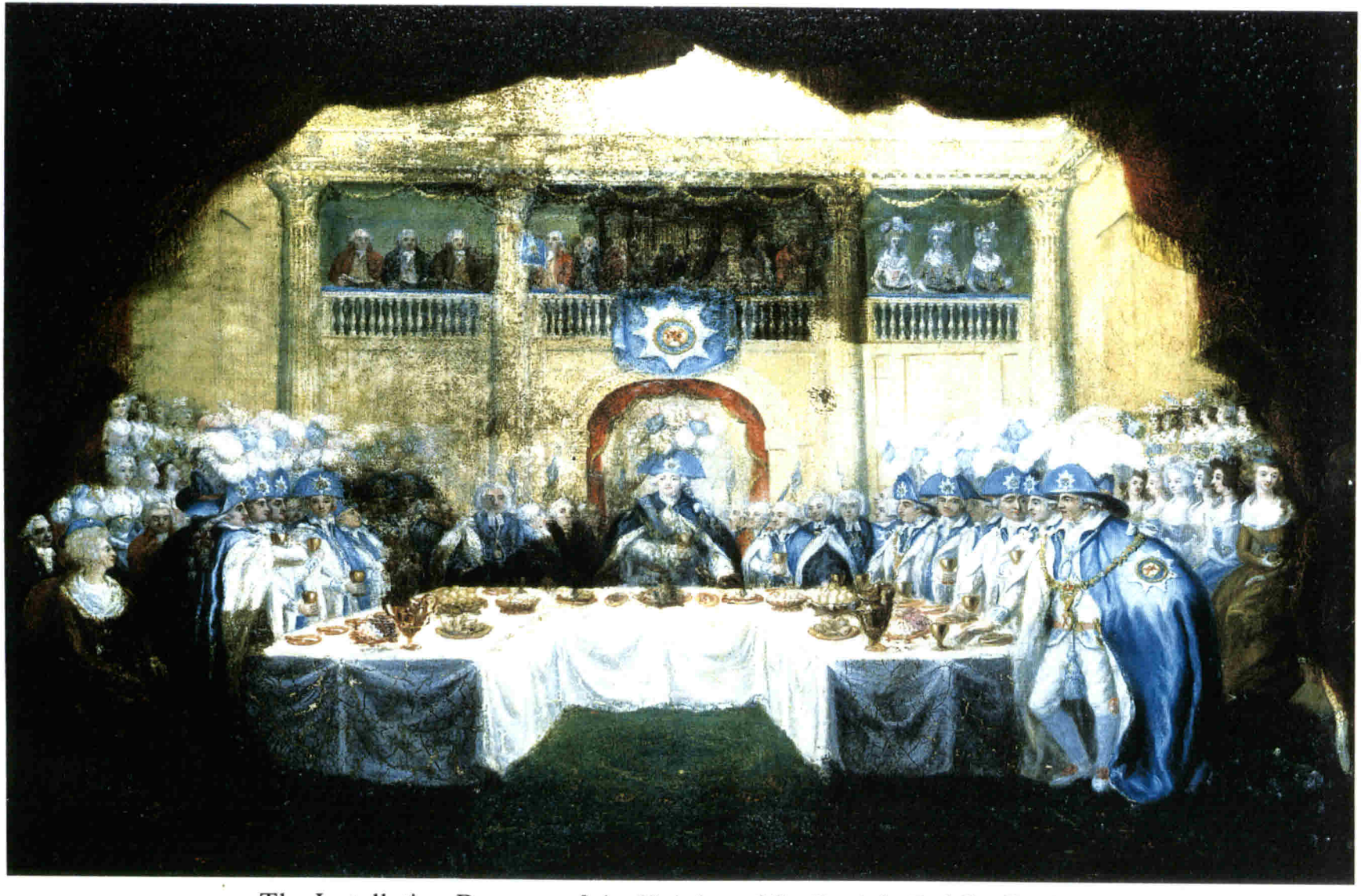
[40] John Cannon, The Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 33.

[41] For a listing of the original ("Founder") Knights of St. Patrick, see Appendix D.

[42] Class-consciousness bred a code of honor among elite equals and specific reactionary laws to place artificial barriers between the hierarchical levels of British society. Even the smallest infringement or social faux-pas could send friends and enemies reeling in effrontery for their "seconds." In The Decline of Aristocracy (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 59-60, The Honourable Arthur Ponsonby recorded that "in the reign of George III, 172 [duels] were fought, 91 being attended with fatal results."



The Installation Banquet of the Knights of St. Patrick, Dublin Castle, 1783

From a painting by John Sherwin

COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND

appointed Justices of the Peace to keep order in the shires. Overall, as men of substance and authority, these landed elites attempted to influence the Parliamentary elections held in their boroughs and counties.

Eighteenth-century intellectuals generally regarded the British as the best governed peoples of Europe. "The Establishment" endeavored to balance their perceived views and needs of "The People" with the order, stability, and regulation of bureaucratic power. Through the venerable Constitution, the British government was set forth as a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Most importantly, those who owned land were the predominant voters, and thus controlled English society in a ceaseless quest for wealth, prestige, and authority.

II

Origins of the King's Friends Party and Government

As the largest landowner and first gentleman of Great Britain, the King stood as the fount of all prestige and honor. Since his grandfather's demise and his own accession to the British throne at age twenty-two, on 25 October 1760, George III had set about limiting the dominant Whig factions that controlled the nation's political stage. Whereas his grandfather and great-grandfather had been Germans, he proudly declared himself a Briton. Having personally witnessed the pompous dandies who flattered his debauched predecessor insatiably for their own power, this young man determined from the start to rule as well as to reign, as the true master of Great Britain and her people.[1]

Thoroughly educated by Dr. Thomas Hayter, the orthodox Bishop of Norwich, and Lords North, Harcourt, Waldegrave and Bute, this young prince developed a sincere socio-political consciousness with underlying tones of religious ardency. John Brooke, one of George's foremost biographers, renounced the assumption that His Royal Highness was taught by Lord Bolingbroke and other Tory disciples.[2] Several historians, however, have adhered to the belief that he was instilled "with the idea of a patriotic king who should be above parties and rule Great Britain through ministers of his own choice," while

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[1] The debates over George III's kingship among the king's defenders, Whig historians, Namerite disciples and modern revisionists are delineated within E.A. Reitan, ed., George III: Tyrant or Constitutional Monarch? (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1964). To review what the new King was up against, see: John Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III (Cambridge Press, 1976).
[2] John Brooke, King George III (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1972), 35-39.

His Majesty George III
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland
From a Portrait by Unknown Artist

COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

in due course preserving the Cabinet system.[3]

Passionately resentful of the power, which had become associated with the Whig oligarchs, George III "determined to reassert the personal influence and authority of the Crown, to undertake personally the chief administration of affairs, and to direct the policy of his ministers."[4] In direct correlation to these assumed duties, he gathered loyal forces to defend the dignity and sanctity of his ancestral throne. The King astutely resolved to play off one faction against another until he should have time to build up a Tory-Court party of his own. Dismayed at the depths to which the Crown's authority had fallen, he vowed to reclaim the vast patronage system, operated in his name by cunning ministers, and to dispense its influence according to his own wishes.

To perhaps understand George III's initial frustration and zealous wish for control, it is necessary to revisit the fifty-six years of indiscreet patronage and Whig ascendancy that formed the characters of eighteenth-century politicians and their governing system. In the early hours of Sunday morning, 1 August 1714, Queen Anne's death effectively ended the Stuart dynasty, which had swayed the scepter of England for 112 and that of Scotland for 343 years, and ushered in the Brunswick-Luneburg dynasty of Hanover. Her late Majesty's Heralds of State gathered at St. James's Palace to proclaim the obscure Hanoverian Elector as King George I (1714-1727).[5] This new sovereign was a great-

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[3] C.E. Vulliamy, Royal George: A Study of George III (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1937), 55-57; and Stanley Ayling, George The Third (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1972), 56-58.

[4] A. Mervyn Davies, The Influence of George III on the Development of the Constitution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), 13.

[5] This event was best commemorated by Sir James Thornhill in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. His painting, The Apotheosis of the Hanoverian Succession includes George I, his mother, his sister (the Prussian queen), his children and his grandchildren, as inheritors of the majestic throne of Great Britain.

grandson of James I, through a double-maternal descent. And "just as the marriage of a Tudor princess to a Scottish king had brought, a century afterward, a Stuart to the English throne, so now the marriage of that first Stuart's daughter to a German duke [brought] the Hanoverian line to the throne just a hundred years later."[6] Despite being petty German princes who lacked the allure and wit of the ribald Tudors and lascivious Stuarts, they excelled as cultural patrons. "Contrary to popular belief, the Hanoverians were by no means a philistine dynasty."[7] In fact, the Georgian Age was named for them and ascertained as an "Epoch of Grandeur."

However, why would the proud British want a German ruler? To maintain the hereditary succession would have been a good answer, but "there were more than fifty Catholic relatives whose claims were better."[8] Honestly, Great Britain was "attached to these Hanoverians not from affection, admiration, or respect but because, with one exception, they interfered little with the running of the government and, by occupying the throne, they barred a rival dynasty which might have threatened Protestantism and the authority of Parliament."[9]

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[6] Walter Phelps Hall, Robert Greenhalgh Albion, and Jennie Barnes Pope, A History of England and the British Empire, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1937; reprint, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1953), 427. Also see the biographical information and genealogical charts included in: David Williamson, Kings and Queens of Britain (Enderby, Leicester: Webb and Bower Publishers Limited, 1991), 153-166 and 230-231; and Ragnhild Hatton, George I: Elector and King (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 372-76.

[7] John Cannon and Ralph Griffiths, The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 470. This point is best illustrated in J.H. Plumb, The First Four Georges (London: Fontana/Collins, 1966); Stanley Ayling, The Georgian Century: 1714-1837 (London: Harrap Limited, 1966); and Jeremy Black, ed., Culture and Society in Britain, 1660-1800 (Manchester: 1997).

[8] Cannon and Griffiths, 461.

[9] Hall, Albion, and Pope, 428. To thoroughly understand the perplexing strains between the last Stuarts and their unmoved subjects, one might read numerous books and articles concerning the Jacobite cause, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. For an admirable and concise picture of the matter, consult: James Lees-Milne, The Last Stuarts: British Royalty in Exile (New York: Scribner, 1984).

This first George, grateful for his prestigious throne and solvent treasury, served as a figurehead of influence, with little real power. Obsessed by continental politics, he concentrated on foreign affairs, and essentially ignored his domestic duties and responsibilities, which he left in the hands of his English ministers. While consumed with Hanoverian policies, he blindly accepted the "Whig-dominated political world, which promoted that the monarchy – if not elective – be wholly dependent on parliament."[10] His Whig ministers discredited their Tory rivals so shrewdly that they remained a dominant force until his great-grandson, the third George, asserted his rights as king. Macaulay ascertained: "Throughout the whole of the reign of George I, and through nearly half the reign of George II, a Tory was regarded as an enemy of the reigning House and excluded from all the favors of the Crown."[11]

However, although excluded from high office, the Tory party did not cease to exist as an effective opposition. While a few Tories retired to the country or allowed themselves to be relegated to the far corners of the back-benches in Parliament, most went incognito under the label of Whig. As nominal Whigs, these men covertly retained their ancestral Tory principles, and moved among "The Establishment" with renewed skill and thought toward God, King, and Country. Linda Colley and others argue that the majority of Tories continued to maintain powerful relationships within national institutions as well

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[10] Hatton, 119-128.

[11] Quoted in The Honourable Clive Bigham, The Prime Ministers of Britain, 1721-1921 (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1924), from Macaulay, vol. 7:206. For some idea of the dominance and favor of the Tory party before the Hanoverian succession, read: Sir Keith Grahame Feiling, A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924).

as their localities.[12] This thesis explores the re-emergence of these men as the Conservative Whigs of the 1760s and 1770s, and the role they played in founding the modern Tory party.[13]

From those halcyon days of the 1689 Revolutionary Settlement, an efficient working partnership developed between the monarch and the English ruling classes – composed of the nobility, country-gentry, merchants, and court-bureaucrats – which dominated Parliament. Under the later Stuarts, it became customary for the sovereign to select Whig or Tory leaders to compose the royal council according to which party held a majority in the Commons. Consequently, after 1714, this "Cabinet Council" acquired an official status and governed in the King's name but without his presence. "For these reasons the new King adopted the expedient of appointing a chief advisor...who personally chose his own Cabinet from men of the political party to which he belonged."[14]

Over time, these Cabinets – but more specifically, their leaders – manipulated the Hanoverians while representing them in the houses of Parliament. These men maintained their control of Parliament through a rigid patronage system, sustained and disciplined by granting and denying political favors under the authority of the Crown. No one did more

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[12] See: Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Paul Kloeber Monod, Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Sir Keith Grahame Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832 (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1951).

[13] As a precursor to this thesis, my initial studies were influenced by James J. Sack, From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c.1760-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), and Sir Keith Grahame Feiling, What is *conservatism*? (London: Faber and Faber, 1930).

[14] D.H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of English History (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912), 325. In order to understand the inner-workings of the British Cabinet system, read Edward Raymond Turner, The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1622-1784, 2 vols. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1930-32; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell Publishers, 1970).

to advance this system than its architect, Sir Robert Walpole.[15] Having contrived the duality of a leader within the Cabinet and the House of Commons, he ruled with an iron fist over his king and countrymen alike for twenty-one years. At his resignation, he was followed by other gifted men of distinction, such as Lord Carteret,[16] the Pelham brothers, Henry Fox,[17] and William Pitt the Elder.

Of these, Thomas Pelham-Holles, fourth Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, most satisfactorily fulfilled the Walpolean legacy and set the stage for George III to assume his autocratic mantle-of-state. One biographer wrote, "Newcastle had two ruling passions, devotion to" Whiggish causes, and "a love of power, which to satisfy him, must be amply recognized, for it was not enough for him to pull the strings, if the puppet were not consciously dancing to his tune."[18] With a fear of becoming such a puppet, George III decisively grasped the reins of Great Britain's Crown as sole Lord, free of scrutiny from a master-martinet.

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[15] Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford, K.G. (1676-1745). He has become known to history as the father of not only the infamous Horace Walpole, but also the modern Cabinet system as the first "Prime Minister." For a firm grasp of this period of intrigue, read: H.T. Dickinson, Walpole and the Whig Supremacy (London: English Universities, 1973); Betty Kemp, Sir Robert Walpole (Cambridge: 1976); and Paul Langford, Walpole and the Robinocracy (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986).

[16] John Carteret, second Baron Carteret, later first Earl Granville, K.G. (1690-1712).

[17] Henry Fox, first Baron Holland (1705-1774). He was known to have friends and influence in high places. After serving as Paymaster of the Forces, "it took a further twenty years to disentangle the accounts of his office and to separate government funds from the Fox family fortune." J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 95. For a more detailed examination of Fox and his political relationships, read: Giles...Fox-Strangways, 6th Earl of Ilchester, Henry Fox, First Lord Holland, his Family and Relations, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner Press, 1920); and L.G. Mitchell, Holland House (London: Duckworth Press, 1980). [Father of Charles James Fox]

[18] Basil Williams, Carteret and Newcastle: A Contrast in Contemporaries (London: Frank Cass, 1943; reprint, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1966), 20. The Pelham brothers (Henry Pelham and Thomas Pelham-Holles) were both incredible politicians. Thorough discussions of their careers are found in J.B. Owen, The Rise of the Pelhams (1957) and Reed Browning, The Duke of Newcastle (1975).

It was immediately apparent that this new monarch would not be cajoled by promises, kind words, or mistresses. Though a firm believer in a sovereignty defined by the Constitution, the King demanded unwavering support for himself, his policies, and his prerogatives. From that most formative year of his accession to the last lucid year of his reign, His Majesty established himself as a man of memory, chronically obsessed with the minutiae of the social and political world over which he now ruled. In fact, he might be compared with that French king, Louis XIV, who had eyes and ears everywhere, and never forgot even the slightest detail.

In analyzing George III's obsessive-compulsive predilections as king, biographer Stanley Ayling in a chapter entitled, "Man and Monarch," wrote:

> The formal and social duties of state occasions, of Levees and 'Drawing Rooms'; interviews and consultations with ministers; the minutiae of appointments and preferments [within the Army, Navy, Church, or court-bureaucracies]; endless letter-writing...(the King never employed a personal secretary until his eyes finally failed in 1805); laborious writing out of memoranda on matters of public concern, private interest, or affairs abroad; Commons division lists, copied laboriously from minister's reports, each Member's voting record narrowly scrutinised and recorded ...consideration of a never-ending stream of begging letters...pertaining to peerages and honours of all kinds, an enormously complicated subject whose niceties he took with the utmost seriousness and upon which – the propriety of this, the impropriety of that – he held views of almost religious intensity; these and a host of other miscellaneous matters of public and personal business filled his days.[19]

As for his personal government, His Britannic Majesty declared an intent to rule

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[19] Ayling, George The Third, 175-176.

without parties or factions, but was soon forced to create an alliance to protect his royal honor. This allegiant group became known as "The King's Friends," but did not come into its own until the end of the King's first nine years on the throne. Constitutionally significant, George III agreed to the Civil List pensions being regulated by Parliament and to remain absent from the Cabinet as long as a few of his followers were allowed to serve. Thus, like his Hanoverian predecessors, he gave up rights and prerogatives to preserve the prestige and dignity of his beleaguered Crown.

Since time immemorial, there had been a group of close advisors for each of Britain's rulers. Earlier examples included the Anglo-Saxon Wittan, the Norman and Plantagenet Curia Regis, and the Stuart CABAL. The Georgian Cabinet grew out of the Tudor-Stuart Privy Council which met with the reigning sovereign. However, prior to George III's accession, a dual-cabinet system had developed with the diligent monarch lurking in the shadows outside the chamber. This dual-assemblage consisted of an "inner or 'efficient' Cabinet, the '*conciliabulum*', composed of the chief heads of the Executive Government," and an "outer or titular body, made up of [the previous officials with] the chief officers of the household."[20]

From the early eighteenth-century forward, the Commons majority leader, often in direct consultation with his monarch, selected the ruling Government's *Conciliabulum*, which ranged from twelve to fifteen members. By the reign of George III, these ministerial officials were the First Lord of the Treasury (usually prime minister), Lord

[20] Davies, 26. To fully explore the development of the Cabinet system, read Sir W. R. Anson's articles in volumes 29, 31, and 32 of the English Historical Review; and E.R. Turner's Cabinet Council of England.

Chancellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Secretary of State for the American Colonies, First Lord of the Admiralty, Commander-in-Chief, President of the Board of Trade, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Secretary of State for Scotland, and Master-General of the Ordnance.[21] The titular Cabinet consisted of all these men plus at least another thirty-two men occupying the "Great Offices of the Crown" and other chief posts in the Government.[22] These included the Earl Marshall, Lord Steward, Groom of the Stole, Captain of the Band of Gentleman Pensioners, H.M. Attorney General, and the three Chief Justices of the law courts, as well as all the Under-secretaries of State.

Never one to let an opportunity slip away, George III appointed courtier friends into positions of power in both cabinets, and incited confusion whenever a ministry went against his opinions over policy. To further complicate matters, he chose his intimate friends and advisors from both inside and outside the governing elite. This thesis addresses those twenty-three years in which the King worked to found and then rule a subservient Court party, concentrating specifically on the period from 1768 to 1783. Despite the King's manipulations, the titular Cabinet decreased in importance after 1784 elections, when the "efficient" Cabinet established its virtual independence of the Crown.[23]

The significance of an eventual Tory re-emergence was revealed during the first

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[21] Watson, 574-579. He commented: "In George III's reign the question of whether a minister was of the cabinet depended as much upon his own strength as upon the office he held...."

[22] For a list of the State Officers who governed Great Britain from 1784 to 1815, see: Appendix H.

[23] A. Mervyn Davies, 27-29.

nine years of George III's reign. One by one, each Whig faction put forth a ministry, which George III adroitly back-stabbed and toppled. This disgruntled King, "though outwardly civil, thwarted his new ministers, and would not create peers on their recommendation. Indeed he probably from the first intended to get rid of them as soon as he could find others more subservient to himself."[24] Consequently, after the ill-fated administration of his favorite, Lord Bute,[25] failed, four capable prime ministers – George Grenville,[26] the second Marquess of Rockingham,[27] William Pitt the Elder,[28] and the third Duke of Grafton – rose, served, and fell within less than two years each. Of these times, Alison Gilbert Olson has written:

> Essentially, each minister took one of the groups of the fifties, composed of his personal followers, some allies, and their political dependents, created a ministry out of them, and left office taking the bulk of these supporters with him. Each former ministry thus became a political faction, united in support of the principles behind the legislation passed during their ministry.[29]

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[24] "George III," in Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vols. (Oxford, 1885-1901; reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1949), 17:1057. [herein after DNB]

[25] John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, K.G. (1713-1792), was a representative peer of Scotland.

[26] George Grenville of Wotton (1712-1770). As a nephew of Viscount Cobham and brother to the 2nd Earl Temple, he ensured that his sons inherited the Temple-Grenville legacies in land, wealth, and titles. His political faction was ruled by a coalition called: "The Three Brothers" (he, Earl Temple, and William Pitt the Elder – who married their sister, Hester Grenville).

[27] Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquess of Rockingham, K.G. (1730-1782). As leader of the most significant Opposition during the first twenty-two years of George III's reign, Lord Rockingham deserves special mention. Read: Frank O'Gorman, The Rise of Party in England: The Rockingham Whigs, 1760-82 (London: Allen and Unwin Limited, 1975), and Ross J.S. Hoffman, The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1973).

[28] William Pitt the Elder, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778).

[29] Alison Gilbert Olson, Anglo-American Politics, 1660-1775: The Relationship Between Parties in England and Colonial America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 161. J.D.C. Clark argued that these factions of the 1750s ushered in the disappearance of the old Whig and Tory parties, within The Dynamics of Change: The Crisis of the 1750s and the English Party System (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Further, Clark artfully summarized the delicate balance of the Whig hegemony prior to 1760, in "The Decline of Party, 1740 –1760," English Historical Review 93 (1978): 499-527.

Not surprisingly, the King was essentially ignored and became justifiably offended by the Great Whig Families who demanded sinecures and state offices with little acquiescence to his authority. When refusing several such restorations or elevations, he commented: "My honor is concerned, and I must support it."[30] By this statement, George III meant that he would not be an acquiescent puppet with no personal beliefs or integrity. According to his biographers John Brooke and Stanley Ayling, George III wanted to serve his nation in the best way possible. This methodical ruler protested and intrigued against the various factions comprising the Whig Oligarchy which had dominated Britain's politics since 1714. As friends of Henry Fox and followers of Whiggish principles,

> . . .many of the first and most powerful families in the kingdom: the Dukes of Bedford, Marlborough, Richmond, Bridgwater, the Marquis of Hartington, with all the Cavendishes, Lords Gower, Sandwich, Weymouth, and many others, were reckoned to be of this number.[31]

However, as His Majesty sowed seeds of dissension, these same men broke over conflicting issues that had once united them in their quests for power. In fact, a sufficient number, less enamored with the Whiggish doctrines of the Cavendish clan, refused to forsake the invincible Royal Court. In one of the most poignant historical scenarios of the eighteenth century, the Rockinghamites were banished to "the political wilderness...[and] lost most of the ambitious politicians of the 'old Whig' following, who chose to stay with the court rather than risk political obscurity."[32] Thus, with the fall of the second Marquess

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[30] "George III to William Pitt the Elder, 29 August 1763," quoted in DNB, 17:1055.
[31] Anson, Autobiography and Correspondence of Grafton, 5.
[32] W.M. Elofson, The Rockingham Connection and the Second Founding of the Whig Party, 1768-1773 (Montreal & Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 3. This administration is best described in Langford, The First Rockingham Administration, 1765-1766 (London: Oxford Press, 1973).

of Rockingham's government in July 1766, British party politics entered a new era.

Ironically, the modern two-party system traces its origins from this momentous occasion. However, it was never officially acknowledged, because of anti-party sentiments, until after the administration of William Pitt the Younger. This arrangement resulted from what Frank O'Gorman dubbed "the gradual rehabilitation of party politics."[33] A Tory-Court party, dominated by the King and his associates, developed in resistance to the "old corps" politicians. This group, known as "The King's Friends," was described as "the determined majority within doors, which supporting no ministry, is blindly devoted to the Court."[34] Hence, George III marshaled the re-emergence of the Tory party in spirit, if not in name.

On the other hand, the Rockinghamites,[35] fearing the establishment of rampant Toryism throughout the country, laid the foundations for an Opposition party that sought to re-establish Whig ascendancy. Though excluded from the inner circles of British government for sixteen of the next seventeen years, Lord Rockingham and his followers maintained a visible opposition to keep the Court partisans constantly wary. W.M. Elofson wrote:

> By late-eighteenth century standards, their program was considered very mild. It sought significant reductions in the

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[33] Frank O'Gorman, "Party in the Later Eighteenth Century," in The Whig Ascendancy: Colloquies on Hanoverian England, ed. by John Cannon (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 77.

[34] Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, 4th Earl Fitzwilliam and General Sir Richard Bourke, eds., Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke: Between the Year 1744, and the Period of His Decease, in 1797, 4 vols. (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1844), 1:346.

[35] As the corner stones of the "New Whig" party, "the Marquis of Rockingham's young Ascot friends [were] brought together by family connections and the geographical proximity of their estates." Alison Gilbert Olson, The Radical Duke: Career and Correspondence of Charles Lennox, Third Duke of Richmond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 14.

> crown's influence and in government spending, but it did not advocate substantive amendments to the structure or conventions of Parliament or to the representation system, and it did not call for an extension of the franchise.[36]

Following the 1766 failure of the Rockinghamites, William Pitt the Elder, "The Great Commoner"[37] who abhorred party politics, assented to come to the helm with a mixture of both groups (Tories and Whigs). This ministry was called when George III realized that his followers were still too weak to control independently the affairs of state. Therefore, "the government which now assumed office was a heterogeneous mosaic of adherents of the King, of Chatham and of the official Whigs."[38] The last remnants of the great Whig hegemony were "compared to an alliance of different clans, fighting in the same cause, professing the same principles, but influenced and guided by their respective chieftains."[39] Over time, all of these Whig factions splintered to join or oppose the King.

Serendipitously for an administration that was to "root out the present method of parties banding together" and "to distribute the functions of state by rotation,"[40] Lord

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[36] Elofson, 7. For a discussion of the more radical approach before the French Revolution, see: Harry T. Dickinson, Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain (London: Methuen Publishers, 1977), 195-231.

[37] He was called, "The Great Commoner," as a mark of honor and courtesy by the common people who adored him until he accepted a peerage in 1766. Numerous works have been written on this unique statesman, but the following present the most vivid and accurate picture: Stanley Ayling, The Elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham (New York: D. McKay Press, 1976); and Peter Douglas Brown, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham: The Great Commoner (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1978).

[38] Bigham, 61. This government was examined in John Brooke, The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976).

[39] James Waldegrave, 2nd Earl Waldegrave, Memoirs, 1754-1758 (London: J. Murray, 1821), 20. This work was expanded under J.D.C. Clark, ed., The Memoirs and Speeches of James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave, K.G., 1742-1763 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). This peer first scandalized society by marrying the illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, and then was made infamous on his death, by his wife's marriage into the Royal Family.

[40] Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, The Growth of the British Party System: Volume 1, 1640-1923 (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1966), 30.

Chatham, crippled with gout and plagued by bouts of depression, remained absent from Court during most of the period from August 1766 to October 1768. Indeed, the hesitant Duke of Grafton was forced to assume command during the summer of 1767, and to negotiate for strength with either the Rockingham or Bedford factions. The Grenvillites were not even considered, as the King had once stated: "I would rather see the devil in my closet than George Grenville."[41] By the time of Chatham's actual resignation in October 1768, most of his followers had either fled or been replaced by "Bloomsbury Gang" members. The Age of Faction was dead, and the Age of Party had arrived!

[41] George Thomas Keppel, 6th Earl of Albemarle, ed., Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and his Contemporaries, 2 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1852), 2:50. Despite George III's dislike, Grenville was both a talented bureaucrat and ingenious diplomat, as may be seen in Philip Lawson, George Grenville: A Political Life (London: 1984); and Allen S. Johnson, A Prologue to Revolution: The Political Career of George Grenville (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997).

Augustus Henry FitzRoy, third Duke of Grafton, K.G.

From a portrait by Nathaniel Dance

COURTESY OF THE PRESENT DUKE OF GRAFTON, K.G.

III

Parliamentary Patronage of the "Bloomsbury Gang"

By the third quarter of the eighteenth-century, the struggle between the British Crown and aristocracy over specific limitations of power was nearing its end. Since the Revolutionary Settlement of 1689, the nobles had been consistently occupied by their pursuit of dominating both the sovereign and the Commons. Sir William Blackstone awarded "the nobility a central role in the constitution: the House of Lords formed a body 'to support the rights of both the crown and the people by forming a barrier to withstand the encroachments of both'."[1] Yet, unlike a faithful pendulum swinging in consistent patterns, the nobles and a few of their consistent comrades in the Lower House banded together to influence the majorities in Parliament, which were responsible for passing laws and granting money.

In view of the Crown's remaining powers of patronage and prerogative, groups such as the "Bloomsbury Gang" flocked to unite with the sovereign. Until the Great Reform Bill of 1832, His Majesty's Government usually dominated the Lords and often gained the upper-hand in the Commons with solicited aid of the Independent swing voters.

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[1] Quoted in Cannon, The Aristocratic Century, 3. This Upper House of Parliament may be appreciated through the following works: Frank Pakenham, 7th Earl of Longford, A History of the House of Lords (London: William Collins' Sons and Company Limited, 1988); Alison Plowden, Lords of the Land (London: Michael Joseph Limited, 1984); Clyve Jones, ed., A Pillar of the Constitution: The House of Lords in British Politics, 1640-1784 (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989); R.W. Davis, ed., Lords of Parliament: Studies, 1714-1914 (Stanford, CA: Stanford Press, 1995); Howard Evans, Our Old Nobility (London: H. Vickers, 1907); and James Lees-Milne, Ancestral Voices (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975).

While a fluctuating number of temporal and spiritual peers met in the Upper House, five-hundred-and-fifty-eight members regularly convened after election in the Lower House. The latter group remained stationary until 1801, when one-hundred Irish members were added. The Commons membership of 558 was composed of 45 Scottish representatives,[2] 24 Welsh representatives, and 489 from English boroughs and counties.[3]

Mastery of majorities in the House of Commons was usually arranged according to dominance, either by the Court, individual families of the aristocracy, or powerful politicians.[4] Throughout the nation, seats were unfairly distributed. Each town ("borough") set its own franchise with oral voting allowing even more manipulation by the local lords and politicians. Most county elections included a more representative group of citizens, when compared to the notorious "rotten boroughs" and "pocket boroughs." In both of the latter types, powerful personages selected their representatives. The most famous of all manipulated borough-electioneering was Old Sarum – the abandoned original site of Salisbury – from where the Pitt family rose to prominence in Parliament. Also, the Crown was far from innocent, having created or maintained forty-four boroughs

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[2] In the Upper-chamber, only *sixteen Scottish peers* were allowed to represent their entire peerage via an election held amongst themselves from the time of Union in 1707 until the reform of 1959. A fine glance at this historical body in Sir James Fergusson, Baronet, The Sixteen Peers of Scotland; An Account of the Elections of the Representative Peers of Scotland, 1707-1959 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960).

[3] Sir Lewis Namier, "Chapter II: The Electoral Structure of England," in The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1965), 62-157. There were two members for each of the 40 counties, and one, two or four for each town depending on its size.

[4] For coverage of this key eighteenth-century institution of governance, read: Frank O'Gorman, Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Unreformed Electorate of Hanoverian England, 1734-1832 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Peter D.G. Thomas, The House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); John Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790: Introductory Survey, in The History of Parliament Trust Series (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); and John Cannon, Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

(each of which usually controlled two seats) in its remote royalist stronghold of Cornwall.[5]

According to hindsight historians of the nineteenth century, the Lower House was always of the highest caliber when educated representatives were elected on a non-democratic basis. Members of Parliament (MPs) were seen as the voices of the whole nation, providing all Britons with "virtual representation." While serving at Westminster, they were not necessarily expected to represent their constituency, as long as they spoke to the common good of the British "community."[6] By the 1790s, the landed elite began to look with disdain and horror at the developments in France. Upon serious reflection, these men and their colleagues turned reactionary backs on the radicalism spreading rampantly throughout Europe out of the fear that only anarchy, terror, and bloodshed would follow if the general populace of Britain was given any real electoral power.[7]

The most important set of debates held in this Lower Chamber during the 1770s related to the American Colonies. Under the Constitution, colonists were in theory guaranteed the same rights as British citizens living within the mother-country. However, issues of representation and taxation clouded the negotiations, as both sides denounced conspiracies against Liberty.[8] The American leaders, many scions of the upper gentry,

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[5] Namier's The Structure of Politics dedicated an entire chapter (pages 299-357) to Cornish Boroughs. These forty-four Royalist boroughs were only one representation vote less than the entire population of Scotland received by law. Readers might also find interest in David Burnett, A Royal Duchy: A Portrait of the Duchy of Cornwall (Stanbridge, Wimborne, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 1996).

[6] Paul Kelly, "Constituents' Instructions to Members of Parliament in the Eighteenth Century," in Party & Management in Parliament, 1660-1784, ed. by Clyve Jones (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984).

[7] These views are illustrated in Clive Emsley, British Society and the French Wars, 1793-1815 (London: Macmillan Press, 1979); Robert Hole, Pulpits, Politics, and Public Order in England, 1760-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Harry T. Dickinson, Caricatures and the Constitution, 1760-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[8] For interesting contemporary opinions on the omnipotence of Parliament vs. anti-parliamentary authority in internal colonial matters, from two of the greatest legal minds, see: Sir William Blackstone,

refused to be denied full rights of citizenship. His Majesty imperial cadre became convinced that giving credence to even the slightest of demands was a show of weakness, and secretly agreed that "radical leaders" in the colonies were a small unrepresentative group with no power. The evolution of these opinions led to colonial rebellion by mid-decade.[9] As Colonial historian Alison Gilbert Olson has observed, "Anglo-American politics 'died of [mutual] strangulation'."[10]

Remarkably, the composition of the Commons and Lords represented the most powerful interests of Great Britain wishing to keep the masses checked. However, unlike the status-quo oriented peerage, the lower-house members also campaigned for progress through industrial change. King George III marshaled a sizable block of about one-hundred-fifty to two-hundred members for the Court and Treasury party ("Court-coalition") through sinecures and favors. The King's Ministers ostensibly served as another forty men to face off against Lord Rockingham's Opposition forces which ranged from forty to seventy-five, depending on the Prince of Wales's personal friends. Overall,

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Commentaries on the Laws of England, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: 1771-1772), 1:106-109 & 160-162; and Richard Bland, An Enquiry Into the Rights of the British Colonies (London: 1769), 11-13 & 16-20.

[9] These reflections may be enhanced by further reading in Sir Lewis Namier, England in the Age of the American Revolution (London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1974); Charles R. Ritcheson, British Politics and the American Revolution (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954); Harry T. Dickinson, ed., Britain and the American Revolution (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998); Hamish Scott, British Foreign Policy in the American Revolution (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1990); and Christopher Hibbert, Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution through British Eyes (New York: Norton Press, 1990).

[10] Alison Gilbert Olson and Richard Maxwell Brown, eds., Anglo-American Political Relations, 1675-1775 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 24. The prevalent issues of conflict are handled vividly in J.D.C. Clark, The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

the King's supporters usually had a natural majority barring political disasters.[11]

To complicate this composition, there was a group of two-hundred-fifty to three-hundred members known as the "Independent Backbenchers." Throughout this century, most of these "Country Gentlemen"[12] adhered to Tory traditions with a "dramatic readiness...to support the court and, in particular, its American policy."[13] Quite crucial to the balance of the Commons, they swung like a pendulum which could support the government or oppose it. Not generally under the control of the King, party or voters, they determined their votes after hearing the arguments presented.

Interestingly enough, these members attended the House fairly infrequently, appearing for reasons of social prestige and to assist local communities. Sir Lewis Namier once remarked: "A list of country gentlemen in the eighteenth-century Parliament reads like a register of the 'county families'."[14] J.D.C. Clark has asserted:

> The gentry elite, in the counties and Westminster, was divided by clear marks of identity. Party allegiances passed from father to son. Local rivalries were subsumed within wider national antagonisms: Whig and Tory were burned into the elite's political consciousness in a way that was to prove almost indelible.[15]

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[11] These numbers were drawn from conversations with Dr. Harry T. Dickinson, Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh, during and after his term as the 1996-1997 Douglas Southall Freeman Professor at the University of Richmond. This is borne out by research in Sir Lewis Namier and Dr. John Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790, in The History of Parliament Trust Series, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[12] This label was given during the time of the Whig Ascendancy to represent those old Tories who were refused the Court as a rule from 1714 to 1760. It should be noted that most of these men lived in urban centers or market-towns, explaining their stability and eventual election by the middle-class voters.

[13] Frank O'Gorman, The Emergence of the British Two-Party System, 1760-1832 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), 45.

[14] Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, 5.

[15] J.D.C. Clark, Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 145-146.

Of all these men above, the majority may be described by Namier's terms, the "predestined or inevitable Parliament men." He defined the dual occupants of this category as:

> members of political families, born to hunt with certain Parliamentary packs, and country gentlemen with seats for heirlooms, who had not as a rule their course mapped out to the same extent. These, sitting as it were in their own right, could go whichever way they chose.[16]

A majority of these independents identified with conservative views and were sympathetic to the elusive re-emergence of a Tory-Court party under the auspices of the British monarch and his loyal supporters. The "Bloomsbury Gang" alone remained above this political fray with at least **forty-nine seats** under their direct nomination or influence.

The "Bloomsbury" majority among His Majesty's forces kept them in a dominant bargaining position. For nine years, "the Bedford men were not strong enough to maintain a ministry but were strong enough to prevent anyone else from doing so."[17] Their forty-nine seats were the result of political combinations. The Bedford-Gower-Weymouth faction could depend on thirty-two personal followers and independent backbenchers. The Earl of Sandwich managed a further fourteen to eighteen seats through effective borough-mongering and blackmail from the heights of his own influential position as First Lord of the Admiralty. Several times over this period these numbers fluctuated due to quarrels with or among the Country Gentlemen, and occasional parleys with the Earl of Suffolk's entourage.[18]

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[16] Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, 4.
[17] Alan Valentine, Lord North, 2 vols. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 1:187.
[18] This view emerged from reading Valentine's Lord North, vol. 2, Appendix B: North's Tory Supporters (474-476). By way of comparison, some of his approximations (about the men who sat in the borough and county seats) do not agree with Namier and Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790, 3 vols.

Consequently, against the setting of the 1770s, these Conservative Whigs fought the "Old Corps" or New Whigs. Those faithful, or at least supportive, members of the Court-coalition were dueling for power, prestige, and prerogative against the Rockingham Opposition which included many of the wealthiest and most powerful peers. Regardless of political ideologies, these aristocratic men, their sons, and their henchmen filled the Houses of Parliament. Sitting in either the Lords or the Commons, they lived Edmund Burke's impression of "aristocratic trusteeship":

> government by men above the battle, trained from birth to a nobler outlook and wealthy enough to avoid the temptation of tawdry economic interest, men who, while conversant with the varied interests of the realm, would never 'work with low instruments for low ends'.[19]

Members of the "Bloomsbury Gang" personified this sacred trusteeship. In fact, a combination of hereditary duty and political ideas drew them into this distinct but truly diverse political world. Steven Watson, who wrote the *Oxford History of England* volume on the reign of George III, noted the King's choice of potential ministers came from two narrow classes of the British population. First, there were "ambitious men of smaller fortune who aspired to better themselves in ministerial service" and then there were "the great men [like Gower] whose borough influence or family connexions made them political captains."[20] Subsequently, the offices of great honor and minimal duties were given to loyal noblemen, while the administrative offices passed to active politicians who ran the Lords and Commons on behalf of the Crown. Thus the great magnates and

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[19] Baugh, "Introduction: The Social Basis of Stability," in Aristocratic Government and Society, 20.
[20] Watson, 65.

the heirs of money-lenders combined to rule one of the greatest nations on Earth. It was from these auspices that the Bloomsbury coterie rose to the pinnacle of recognition.

Having ostensibly come into their own power in the autumn of 1768, the "Bloomsbury Gang" quickly emerged as the prevailing influence in the Grafton Government. "The gang was a coterie of self-seekers, whose one motive in political life seems to have been personal gain, yet who made themselves so powerful that they could never be ignored and contrived for a time...to render themselves indispensable."[21] Their demanded reshuffling took place as follows:

> A new secretaryship for the colonies was created for the anti-American Hillsborough, who thus divested Shelburne of responsibility for American business. Gower became Lord President while Weymouth replaced Conway as [Northern] Secretary and Bedford's lesser supporters were well provided for.[22]

His Majesty, "with his place-men in the Commons, with the assistance in the Lords of his own family and of 'backwoodsmen' whipped up from their rural seclusion,"[23] was delighted by this new Government arrangement for two reasons. First, despite being the Gang's leader and an old antagonist[24] of the King, the Duke of Bedford, afflicted with a number of ailments, refused an office for himself. And second, Lords Gower[25] and

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[21] A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), 256. He also wrote of the Bloomsbury Gang: "Their influence was entirely derived from the rank of their leader, from his broad acres and from the great traditions of the house of Russell." This is not completely accurate because this GANG was an alliance of several wealthy – not just one – peers of ancient lineage and devotion.

[22] B.W. Hill, British Parliamentary Parties, 1742-1832: From the Fall of Walpole to the First Reform Act (London: George Allen & Urwin Limited, 1985), 120.

[23] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 338.

[24] George III never truly forgave Bedford for opposing the Princess-Dowager of Wales (his mother) being listed among the Royal Family in the Regency Bill of 1765.

[25] Granville Leveson-Gower, second Earl Gower, later first Marquess of Stafford, K.G. (1721-1803).

Weymouth[26] – both personal friends – returned to the inner circle of Cabinet service. In regards to these two Bloomsbury peers and their aristocratic colleagues, the Duke of Grafton observed: "In the House of Lords this accession of strength was essentially felt; and damped every expectation which the other parts of Opposition might have formed to have embarrassed the Administration."[27]

"Pressed on the one side by the Court and on the other by the Bloomsbury gang, distracted by domestic worries and deserted by Chatham, for whose sake he had drifted into this unsought-for imbroglio,"[28] Grafton called upon the friendship and favor of Gower and Weymouth to help steer a moderate path. Unfortunately, at a time this duke should have been consolidating his power, the long-standing quarrel between the King and John Wilkes,[29] a Radical Member of Parliament (MP) who spoke out for liberal governmental reforms and wrote scathing attacks on the monarchy, reached a climax, and London was threatened with mob rule.

Having drawn significant notice among the ruling elite for his energetic vigor as a parliamentarian, Lord Weymouth was created Secretary of State for the North on 20 January 1768 and automatically sworn to the *Conciliabulum*. As Northern Secretary, he became responsible for the maintenance of law and order, a task for which he had little

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[26] Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth, later first Marquess of Bath, K.G. (1734-1796).
[27] Anson, Autobiography and Correspondence of Grafton, 183.
[28] Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys, 154.
[29] John Wilkes (1727-1797), co-editor of The North Briton. He later served as Alderman, Sheriff, & Lord Mayor of London, and unsuccessfully advocated reform of the House of Commons in 1776. To learn more about this courageous libertine, read: George F.E. Rudė, Wilkes & Liberty: A Social Study of 1763 to 1774 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962); Louis Kronenberger, The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes: His Life and Times (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Publishers, 1974); and Peter D.G. Thomas, John Wilkes, A Friend to Liberty (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996).

previous experience, but carried through to the King's satisfaction. By 21 October 1768, he had proven his worth and been transferred to assume the seals for the prestigious Southern Office following the resignation of Lord Shelburne.[30]

In the spring of 1768, Lord Weymouth "had the main duty of dealing with the London coalheavers' attack on their 'Undertakers', the seamen's seizure of the port of London, and the separate, but not unconnected riotings for 'Wilkes and Liberty'."[31] These riots were a series of interwoven reactions to John Wilkes' rejection as a candidate in London and his expeditious imprisonment soon after his victorious election as MP for Middlesex County. Three weeks after the election, on 17 April 1768, Lord Weymouth anticipated and authorized the employment of military force if necessary in coming weeks. With ponderous approbation, the King wrote from the Queen's House:

> Ld. Weymouth, the Letter from Mr. Ponton gives Me great pleasure as it shows the Justices have conducted themselves with proper spirit, if these tumultuous Assemblies continue before the King's Bench Prison it is worthy of consideration whether the Attorney General ought not to move the court that Mr. Wilkes may be removed to the Tower, where the like illegal Concourse will be effectively prevented without harrassing the Troops, if a due primness is shown with regard to this Audacious Criminal this affair will prove a fortunate one by restoring a due obedience to the laws, but if this is not the case, I fear the Anarchy will continue till what every independent Man must dread (I mean) an effusion of blood has vanquished it.[32]

Tragically, His Majesty's justifiable fears came to life when soldiers shot into a

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[30] William Petty Fitzmaurice, second Earl of Shelburne, later Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G. (1737-1805).
[31] John Norris, Shelburne and Reform (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1963), 57.
[32] "George III to Lord Weymouth, 30 April 1768," in Longleat Mss. (microfilm), v.38: reel 19, letter #7.

mob that had gathered in St. George's Field on 10 May "to draw Wilkes in triumph from his cell to parliament."[33] This tragedy became even more rancorous when Lord Barrington,[34] the Secretary at War, passed the following congratulatory remarks to the same troops: "His Majesty highly approves of the conduct of both the officers and the men," and promises them "every defense and protection."[35] George III's actual words to his trusted friend, Lord Weymouth were: "I shall with pleasure sign any Proclamation that can tend to restore order to this court formally looked on as the seat of Liberty which has now degenerated into Licentiousness."[36]

The "Wilkes Riots" – as they collectively came to be known – were soon put down with limited use of military force and little damage. As the year passed, however, Lord Weymouth's original advice regarding troop deployment in the event of upheaval came to Wilkes' attention. And on 8 December 1768, the radical rabble-rouser published a statement of denunciation, claiming that the fatal actions in St. George's Field were premeditated.[37] To further blight the public image of Grafton's Ministry, in January 1769, Lord Weymouth's actions were denounced in the first in a series of anti-government treatises. The infamous, though anonymous, *Junius* sarcastically wrote:

> Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play [gambling], and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy

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[33] Watson, 133.
[34] William Wildman Barrington, second Viscount Barrington (1717-1793), was Secretary at War, 1765-78. Watson described him as "notorious for his share in the loss of the American colonies," 69 n1.
[35] Peter Quennell, Four Portraits: Studies of the Eighteenth Century (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1965), 234-235.
[36] "George III to Lord Weymouth, 10 May 1768," in Longleat Mss. (microfilm), v.38: reel 19, letter #12.
[37] John Wilkes' article appeared in the St. James's Chronicle, and included a copy of Lord Weymouth's private instructions for military force to Mr. Ponton, chairman of the Southwark quarter sessions.

> ...behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the crown.[38]

Beginning with the turmoil of the Wilkes constitutional crisis, an unknown critic (later usually identified as "Sir Philip Francis"[39]) issued a series of letters or treatises under the pen-name *Junius*.[40] These were trenchant attacks on the governing ministers and their policies. As seen above, Weymouth became a target of *Junius*'s wit, receiving both tongue-in-cheek compliments as well as defamations of his character. In an address to Grafton as late as June 1771, *Junius* criticized Weymouth by stating:

> Yet he must have bread, my lord, or rather he must have wine. If you deny him the cup, there will be no keeping him within the pale of the ministry.[41]

The chief political protagonist of the Whigs, Edmund Burke best portrayed *Junius* and his writings in the following speech:

> How comes this Junius to have broken through the cobwebs of the law? The myrmidons of the court have been long (in pursuit of) the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils...King, lords, and commons are but sport of his fury. Were he a member of this house, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could

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[38] Quoted in Sir Nathaniel W. Wraxall, Historical Memoirs of My Own Time (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), 311.

[39] Philip Francis, K.B. (1740-1818). After serving as 1st Clerk of the War Office (1762-1772), this adventurer spent seven years under the North Ministry as counselor to the Governor-General of India. Upon declaring opposition, he joined the Fox family contingent and served as a M.P. (1784-1807). Later made a Knight of the Bath, he is "now widely considered to be the most likely author of the 'JUNIUS' letters." Valentine, Lord North, 1:343.

[40] The most complete set of these letters was assembled in John Cannon, ed., The Letters of JUNIUS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[41] Quoted in Wraxall, 310-311.

> conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal anything from the public.[42]

In the months following Wilkes' December publication, an ensuing debate in both Houses of Parliament followed with Weymouth and others condemning Wilkes' actions. Lord Weymouth denounced Wilkes for this breach of privilege and the House of Lords declared the document to be "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of His Majesty's subjects to sedition, and to a total subversion of all good order and government."[43] On 2 February 1769, Wilkes appeared at the bar within the House of Commons. He admitted having written the statement for the sole purpose of bringing "forward the impeachment of the noble lord" who wrote "that bloody scroll."[44] The following day, Wilkes was expelled from his seat in the Commons.[45]

Out of these tumultuous times, Viscount Weymouth emerged both as a renowned drunkard on the mend and an effective minister in the service of the Crown. From Weymouth's correspondence with the King and other ministers, he seems to have maintained the entire situation under his personal direction. With this demonstration of ability and loyalty to his sovereign, he earned the respect of George III. Their mutual correspondence reveals that the King formed a dependence on Lords Weymouth and

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[42] Quoted in David McCracken, *Junius* and Philip Francis (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 53.
[43] Annual Register, 1769, 54.
[44] John Almon, The Correspondence of the Late John Wilkes, with his friends printed from the original manuscripts in which are introduced memoirs of his life, by John Almon, 5 vols. (London: Printed for R. Phillips by T. Gillet, 1805), 3:273n., 298.
[45] This expulsion was also instigated by his earlier writings, especially No. 45, in The North Briton, for which he had fled the country in 1764. Wilkes was finally permitted to return to Parliament following his re-election for Middlesex in 1774 – most probably because he had tempered conservatively.

Gower, as well as Charles Jenkinson,[46] for advice and friendship. In a letter to his old tormentor, George Grenville, His Majesty described Lord Weymouth as "one of the oracles of the court."[47]

As his Bloomsbury colleagues settled into harmonious relations with the King and resolved to bring an end to the Wilkes unpleasantness, the Duke of Grafton neglected his duties. He fell "prey to the ancestral love of amusement" and "was no more able to resist the lure of Newmarket Heath or the pull of the Wakefield Lodge kennels than he was able to separate himself for any length of time from the siren voice of the charmer-in-chief, Nancy Parsons."[48] The astonished King, seething at the Duke's pomposity of flaunting his mistress at the Opera in the Queen's presence after having ignored critical meetings to go hunting, wistfully commented: "Pretty occupations for a man of quality to be spending all his time tormenting a poor fox that is generally a much better beast than any of those that pursue him."[49]

Publicly recanting his actions with an apology to Their Majesties, the remorseful

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[46] Charles Jenkinson, first Baron Hawksbury and later first Earl of Liverpool (1727-1802). A protégé of Lord Bute, he rose to be Secretary at War from 1778 to March 1782 while having long been the king's "secret advisor." For further insight into his devotion to and work with George III, read: Richard Pares, King George III and the Politicians (Oxford, 1953; reprint, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1988), 170-175. Readers could also consult Jenkinson's correspondence with John Robinson, North's *homme de confiance,* since these men provide an insightful bridge into the lives of the King and his trusted friends and colleagues.

[47] "George III to George Grenville, August 1768," quoted in DNB, 19:850.

[48] Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys, 151. Nancy Parsons, the duke's mistress, was the daughter of Bond Street tailor and lived openly for awhile with a slave-trader named Horton. She became notoriously known as, "The Duke of Grafton's Mrs. Horton, the Duke of Dorset's Mrs. Horton, everybody's Mrs. Horton." She eventually married a wealthy dandy named Charles Maynard, second Viscount Maynard.

[49] Taken from "Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of Grafton," of the Euston Hall Biographies. This was provided through the research and courtesy of His Grace The Duke of Grafton [Hugh FitzRoy, 11th Duke], and his private secretary, Mrs. Linda Campbell.

Grafton promised to return to his official duties and to be more discreet among London society. Within the year, he renounced his mistress and started divorce proceedings against his wife who was known to be carrying the child of an indiscretion with Lord Ossory.[50] The British Establishment took his side with full sympathy, considering his duchess's indelicate condition. Realizing that "he had been rendered helpless" by joining "up with the Bedford pack,"[51] the Duke resolved to marry amongst them.

Within months of their "Divorce Bill" passing the House of Lords on 23 March 1769, both the Duke and his ex-duchess respectively re-married. His Grace wed Miss Wrottesley, and Anne Liddell[52] made a swift trip to the altar to become Lord Ossory's countess before the birth of their son. Hardly surprising, few in society "failed to notice that the Duchess of Bedford and the new Duchess's mother, Lady Mary Wrottesley, were sisters of Lord Gower and aunts of Lord Ossory."[53] On Tuesday, 18 July 1769, society diarist Lady Mary Coke[54] noted:

> His Grace I think intends to continue first Minister: every step he takes seems to be with that view, & tho' he might have other motives for his Marriage, nobody I think doubts but that one of them was to secure the Duke of Bedford & his party to his interest; he Courts Lord Bute upon the same

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[50] John Fitzpatrick, second Earl of Upper Ossory (1745-1818), was transferred from the Irish peerage into the more prestigious British peerage upon his creation as "Baron Upper Ossory of Ampthill" in 1794.
[51] Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys, 167.
[52] Hon. Anne Liddell – heiress of Henry Liddell, Baron Ravensworth – respectively married and bore the titles: "Duchess of Grafton" and "Countess of Upper Ossory". She was one of Horace Walpole's most active and colorful correspondents.
[53] Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys, 176.
[54] Lady Mary Coke (1726-1811) – youngest daughter of John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, by his second wife, Jane Warburton – married Edward, Viscount Coke, but they were separated after two years of constant bickering. From his death in 1753 until her own, she remained a widow.

> laudable principle, giving preferments to his Relations to make my Lord his friend.[55]

Full of bright ideas and soaring spirits, the Duke of Grafton thought he had finally arrived as a confidential bridge between the King and his ruling elite. In a mark of singular kindness, George III invested his aloof prime minister as a "Knight of the Garter" on 20 September, at St. James's Palace. Hardly containing the sheer exultation he felt during this event, His Grace wrote in his Autobiography:

> His Majesty had been graciously pleased at this time to summon a Chapter of the Garter, in order to invest me with the Insignia of the Order; and the king did me the honor to observe, that he was pleased to have the greater satisfaction in conferring that favor, as I was one of the very few who had received it unsolicited.[56]

Soon after this ceremony, the truth of reality came crashing in on him like the waves on the rocks at high-tide. "Amid accusations of overthrowing the constitution, Grafton muddled miserably along to the end of 1769,"[57] when he realized that his foolish anticipations would never be achieved. This young duke became a mere pawn caught in the grasps of the power-hungry and haughty Bloomsbury peers. As early as November, the King had conducted secret negotiations for the merging of the "Bloomsbury Gang" with the "King's Friends," under the leadership of a peer who was amiable to His Majesty asserting his personal rule. If being chosen as "Master of the Royal Foxhounds," Grafton would have made an admirable choice, but as master (leader) of the King's allies, this duke

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[55] J.A. Home, ed., The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke: Volume Third, 1769-1771 (Privately Printed, 1889-1896; reprint, Bath, UK: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970), 115-116. (4 volumes)
[56] Anson, Autobiography and Correspondence of Grafton, 241.
[57] Watson, 146

was no longer a viable possibility.

Once agreed upon their unholy alliance, these two groups orchestrated a silent coup d'état within the Cabinet to displace their innocent leader. After a mass exodus of "all those with whom he was in confidential agreement," His Grace "dreamed of bringing back members of the Rockingham circle into government and redressing the balance...an impossible hope."[58] One historian melodramatically wrote: "The old lion [George III] who had put Grafton in office then rose from his lair to destroy him."[59]

Fearing the Cabinet alone, the Duke persuaded Charles Yorke[60] to discuss being Lord Chancellor with the King, at which point his friend was created Lord Morden and assumed office on 17 January 1770. Tragically, this new peer felt caught between Court expectations and family loyalties, and committed suicide within days of his appointment. This emotionally traumatic incident was the last burden that Grafton's weakened nerves could take. "Happy in his second marriage, tired of Parliament, [saddened by his friend's death], and sickened by the attacks of 'Junius', Grafton resigned his premiership on 27 January 1770."[61]

Four days before, having orchestrated the Duke of Grafton's ineffectiveness within the inner Cabinet, and guessing that it would only be a matter of time before he asked leave to resign, George III wrote:

> LORD NORTH – After Seeing you last night I saw Lord Weymouth who by My Direction will wait on You with

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[58] Watson, 146.
[59] Bulmer-Thomas, 30.
[60] The Honourable Charles Yorke, first Lord Morden (1722-1770) – descendant of the earls of Hardwicke.
[61] Eileen Hellicar, Prime Ministers of Britain (Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles Limited, 1978), 28.

> Lord Gower this morning to press You in the strongest Manner to accept the Office of first Commissioner of the Treasury. My own mind is more and more strengthened with the rightness of the measure that would prevent every other observation, You must easily see that if You do not accept I have no Peer at present in my service that I could consent to place in the Duke of Grafton's employment, whatever You may think do not take any decision unless it is the one of instantly accepting without a further conversation with Me. And as to the other arrangements You may hear what others think but keep Your own opinion till I have seen you.[62]

The same evening that His Grace of Grafton relinquished his burdensome post, Frederick North,[63] the seventh Baron North, "kissed hands to become First Lord of the Treasury and the King's first confidential minister."[64] His Britannic Majesty was elated at having at long last effectively destroyed the Whigs' cohesion and gained control of Parliament through artful cunning, lavish bribery and insidious patronage. Of this crucial victory, B.W. Hill wrote:

> Over the Wilkes issue many of the government's supporters had wavered. The change of minister rallied them. After a decade in which the court party and its independent supporters had been forced to follow first the unpopular Bute, then the disrespectful Grenville, and finally the absentee Chatham and the immoral Grafton – of whom only Grenville was in the Commons – the popularity, ability and respectability of North and his physical presence in the House breathed fresh life into the government side.[65]

Lord North's expeditious, if unexpected, rise has been explained by most historians

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[62] "George III to Lord North, 23 January 1770," in Sir John Fortescue, ed., The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783, 6 vols. (London, 1927-1928; reprint, London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1967), vol. 2: no. 745, 126.
[63] Frederick North, seventh Baron North, later second Earl of Guilford, K.G. (1732-1792).
[64] Valentine, Lord North, 1:189.
[65] Hill, 123.

as both a conspicuous and dominant display of his ambition. Most unusual for the time, he became the first minister "without a following of his own...in an age of faction politics."[66] North became George III's "Heaven-born Minister" whom the King "took over from Grafton along with a good deal else, including Charles James Fox and a phalanx of place-seekers [such as Sandwich] recruited from among the followers of the Duke of Bedford when Chatham resigned late in 1768."[67] D. H. Montgomery wrote that Lord North "bowed to royal will, and endeavored to carry out George III's favorite policy of 'governing for, but never by, the people'."[68] While validity may be found in this last statement, Lord North was a thoroughly competent prime minister. He was an excellent financier and eloquent speaker, possessed of good manners and a consensual, rather than confrontational nature.

"In popular judgment he was merely a nominal first minister who would be dominated by the Bedford group, and would shortly either be replaced by them, or fall with them."[69] Actually, Lord North thought the concepts of "party" and "prime minister" to be unconstitutional, and claimed that one should serve only the King. This new leader was perfect for His Majesty's alliance with the "Bloomsbury Gang," even stating: "I have risen to the station I hold by having friends in one set and another."[70]

Soon after his greatest moment of triumph, this new First Lord of the Treasury[71]

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[66] Peter D.G. Thomas, Lord North (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 38.
[67] R.J. White, The Age of George III (New York: Walker and Company, 1968), 137.
[68] Montgomery, 341.
[69] Valentine, Lord North, 1:189.
[70] Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, 100.
[71] Frederick, Lord North, jointly held the three positions: First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the Commons, from 27 January 1770 to 20 March 1782.

called his first Cabinet. His ministry, which rested upon a combination of aristocratic and royal support, was to become the embodiment of "mixed government."[72] As a channel of communication between the King and his people, Lord North viewed his duties seriously and compulsively. Yet, one contemporary observed that the Lieutenants of his Cabinet "were, in fact, rather his co-equals than his subordinates, as they ought to have been...."[73] And his biographer, Peter Whiteley concluded: "At no stage in his career...did North manage to wield his Cabinet into a body where the collective authority was greater than the individual strengths of its members."[74]

These disruptive peers of Lord North's Cabinet, seeking and granting influence, were hardly unusual among their colleagues at Westminster, Whitehall, and St. James's Palace.[75] Throughout the first decade of George III's reign and before North's emergence, at least seven factions had tried to form adequate ministerial or opposition "parties." Aristocratic family historian, Georgiana Blakiston, characterized the system:

> Faction confused eighteenth-century politics; Whigs contested with other Whigs for place and power, and government was an 'ever changing labyrinth' of alliances. Political combinations broke up...new groups coalesced to form a ministry. Pride and jealously precluded able men

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[72] This concept was based upon the venerable Constitution. In turn this unwritten, balanced structure, evoked a "Sovereign Legislature" rooted in the three principles of monarchy (decisive leadership or tyranny), aristocracy (wise counsel or faction), and democracy (liberty or anarchy). Each sphere of government had a separate function, but there was no separation of powers.

[73] Henry B. Wheatly, ed., The Historical and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, 1772-1784, 5 vols. (London: Bickers and Sons, 1884), 1:343.

[74] Whiteley, 87.

[75] **Westminster Palace** served as the seat of Parliament. **Whitehall** was the seat of bureaucracy, where the various Cabinet officials held offices and kept appointments. ("Whitehall" refers to Whitehall Street along which many of the government departments had offices, hence the center of administration. The actual palace of Whitehall burned in the 1690s, except for the Banqueting Hall.) **St. James's Palace** housed the diplomatic and executive offices of His Majesty's Government and the Royal Household.

> from taking office together, personal ambition strained their relations with the King and vanity made them stubborn.[76]

Above all else, it is most important to remember that family, friends, and enemies influenced every man. Even His Majesty, frustrated by the past, set about assembling his true allies who eventually developed the "King's Friends-Bloomsbury Gang" alliance. Though assailed "by the blasts of faction" during his search for a "faithful minister [skilled] in the difficult art of administering his realm for the good of his subjects," George III recognized Lord North as the "faithful servant willing to go the way he wished, able to manage his party."[77]

The initial task facing the King and his first confidential minister was consolidation of their Court coalition. As an opponent of factions and petty rivalries, Lord North won strength as someone who advocated "decentralized ministerial functions and responsibilities."[78] To George III, he represented a friend and colleague not afraid to acquiesce to royal authority. Both the Opposition and the Country Gentlemen viewed him as an honorable and talented speaker, and "trusted him more than they were prepared to trust anyone else."[79] But most importantly, a North biographer recorded:

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[76] Georgiana Blakiston, Woburn and the Russells (London: Constable & Company Limited, 1980), 109. This quotation may be best illustrated by the life of the fourth Duke of Bedford. Of this hereditary marshal of England, The Royal Register unreservedly recorded: "He possessed very exalted ideas of his rank, and no very humble ones of his abilities." The Honourable Vicary Gibbs, in collaboration with H. Arthur Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden, and Geoffrey H. White, eds., The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and The United Kingdom: Extant, Extinct, or Dormant; by George Edward Cokayne, 13 originals in 6 vols. (London: Allan Sutton Publishers, 1987), 1 (II):83. Truly, this was a time when the art of politics was driven by factions and connexions, rather than on principles.

[77] Bonamy Dobree, ed., The Letters of King George III (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1935), 65.

[78] Valentine, Lord North, 1:191.

[79] Whiteley, 228.

> To a public somewhat bored with the old faces, North was happily neither a Scot like Bute nor a familiar Whig statesman well past his prime. Newcastle, Halifax, Holland, Granville, Devonshire, Hardwicke, Cumberland, Grenville, Bedford, and Chatham were either dead, retired, or in poor health...and although Grafton and Conway were both well and active, each had demonstrated his limitations and had a relatively small following.[80]

The time was right "for a quiet administration, so long as it could hold its own, as it did for longer than all the previous administrations [George III] put together."[81] Ever critical, Edmund Burke informed Charles O'Hara[82] that Lord North was dominated by "secret influence." This Whig philosopher went further on 21 May 1770:

> The Majority does not act as subject to the Ministry, but as a sort of Ally which has a strong and common Interest...As to the Ministers they are as weak and divided as when you left them. The Band of King's men are better supported than ever...As to your friends the Bedfords...they are conscious that they are only kept in until another set can be got...But at present the K's friends have no other choice."[83]

Consequently, despite initial bellicosity, the King's Bloomsbury allies rose higher in his affections, and their critics' prophetic imaginings vanished. Furthermore, within the year, the Court-coalition united with the Grenvillites under the fresh banner of the twelfth Earl of Suffolk[84] who had taken over as their leader upon George Grenville's sudden death.

Then, as if Fate was testing His Majesty's patience for enduring governmental

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[80] Valentine, Lord North, 1:191-192.
[81] Dobree, The Letters of King George III, 65.
[82] Charles O'Hara, Irish MP. He was a personal friend and long-time correspondent of Edmund Burke.
[83] "Edmund Burke to Charles O'Hara, 21 May 1770," in Thomas W. Copeland, gen. ed., Correspondence of Edmund Burke, vol. 2: July 1768-June 1774, ed. Lucy S. Sutherland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 137-138.
[84] Henry Howard, twelfth Earl of Suffolk and fifth Earl of Berkshire, K.G. (1739-1779).

uncertainty, the fourth Duke of Bedford gathered his forces for what was to prove a deathbed conference. "In spite of repeated visits to Bath, [his] gouty complaint was spreading rapidly," and all could see "that he was seriously ill."[85] Well aware of his debilitating illnesses, Bedford, whose kind "spirit wonderfully supported him under this severe trial [of paralysis and blindness]...evinced the same lively interest in the fortunes of his friends."[86] The duke invited his confidants, Richard Rigby[87] and John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich,[88] to join Lords Gower and Weymouth for discussions of their "party" leadership. Though no record exists, it may be assumed that the gathering agreed to the second Earl Gower assuming the leadership and working in close conjunction with his sister, the duke's wife – though soon a widow.

Since the first appearance of the fourth Duke of Bedford in British politics, his small group of followers – the "Bedfordites" – had grown to become a dominant faction that could help make or break a ministry. His marriage to Lady Gertrude[89] in 1737 had cemented an alliance between the Whiggish Russells and the Jacobite-turned-Whig Leveson-Gowers. Thereafter, the powerful duke combined forces with his father-in-law and then with his brother-in-law, Granville, to augment the "Bloomsbury Gang".

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[85] Gladys Scott Thomson, The Russells In Bloomsbury, 1669-1771 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), 372.
[86] Russell, Correspondence of Bedford, 3:416-417.
[87] Sir Richard Rigby (1722-1788), was the manager of the Duke of Bedford's parliamentary group. It was said that "he could be counted on for every kind of service to the family – domestic and political."
[88] John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792). As one of Bedford's intimates, he maintained amazing connections with the Bloomsbury Gang, but never failed in loyalty as a "King's Friend". He was devoted to naval bureaucracy from 1744 to 1782, and served three-times as First Lord of the Admiralty.
[89] Lady Gertrude Leveson-Gower – daughter of John, first Earl Gower, and Lady Evelyn Pierrepont, the daughter of Evelyn, Duke of Kingston – was 2nd wife of the fourth Duke of Bedford and bore two children. Responsible for bringing up her three orphaned grandsons, and continuing the "Bloomsbury Gang," the Duchess (1719-1794) was called by Lord Chesterfield "the most artful and dangerous of women." Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, 1 (II):83.

As His Grace of Bedford departed this life on 14 January 1771, singing the 104th Psalm, "proclaiming the abounding wonders of the earth,"[90] the news of his death was dispatched to his fellow magnates and his saddened, but relieved monarch. While mourning on this momentous occasion, the duke's judicious followers were probably struck by how many of their most "potent enemies and embarrassing friends" had died in the previous year.[91] Under the illusion that Bedford's principles had died with him, George III and Lord North now turned openly to invigorate themselves in the security of their Bedfordite allies. Scholar A. S. Foord found:

> Stability emerged gradually from weakness and confusion. Death or retirement swept away most of the figures who had dominated politics for so long in the era of 'broad bottom', and loyalties shifted as the younger men sought a winning combination. By 1771 the Ministry had absorbed the active followers of Bute, Bedford, and Grenville.[92]

Before moving forward to explore this ministerial coalition, attention must be given to one of the most important of British historical debates, the question of the continuity of the two-party system. As noted in Chapter 2, the Whig Oligarchy dominated most aspects of life for members of the ruling class from 1714 to 1760. After 1760, a young King, determined to establish a personal rule for the good of the nation, "dedicated himself to the extirpation of party," but paradoxically, "created the parties of our modern history."[93] From his accession to the fall of his minister Lord Rockingham in 1766, this

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[90] Robert Halsband, ed., The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4:23; and also Quoted in Blakiston, 145-146.
[91] Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, 115.
[92] Archibald S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830 (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 305-306.
[93] Bulmer-Thomas, 29.

persistent monarch struggled against the factious political wars of his aristocracy, until he could utilize his royal prerogative and patronage system to establish a group of Court-Parliament associates.

What made George III's party so important? First, the King resolved to found and manage it based upon his devices of prestige and sponsorship. Second, it allowed men of every political distinction to join an alternative to the Whig Oligarchy, which in time came to be seen as the party of the conservative British Establishment. Whereas the Tory party in 1714 supported the interests of the Church and the landed elite against the Whig protection of opposition (religious and political reformers) and commercial classes, this same pairing of institutional factions re-configured before the end of the century.

Before this re-configuration, the Tories had to re-establish their political credibility, which had been questioned with suggestions of Jacobitism and forced into the shadows by Whig dominance. After accepting Sir Lewis Namier's declaration that "no party existed, in the modern sense of party, perhaps till the death of the younger Pitt," Tory historian Keith Grahame Feiling went on to write a book entitled, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, "as a reminder that there was none the less a continuous tradition and some elementary framework of party, and a descent of political ideas."[94] Building upon both arguments, this thesis asserts that a Tory re-emergence was allowed to blossom in spirit, if not in name after 1766.

Peter D.G. Thomas examined the men on both sides at Lord North's ascendancy

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[94] Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, v.

and argued that not only all opposition forces, but also most of those composing the Court-coalition ministry identified themselves under the overarching Whig banner.[95] Professor Feiling maintained several decades earlier that until the definitive year 1770 "everyone in office was a 'Whig'."[96] In another work, Feiling further explained that Lord North's "ministry coincided with the formation of a new Conservative bloc."[97] Hence, the "King's Friends" and their allies became known as the "Conservative Whigs" and, laid the foundation for the re-emergence of the Tory party that developed into Britain's modern Conservative Party.

From a contemporary perspective, Lord Rockingham, always suspicious of his rivals, irrationally wrote to Lord John Cavendish:

> The Quintessence of Toryism (wch may synominously [sic] be called the King's Friends system) is both ready and willing if any opportunity offers to reak their vengeance upon us with the assistance of a King of the Brunswick Line, just as they would have been if any of their attempts to reinstate a Stuart had succeeded.[98]

Realistically, the days of Jacobite phantoms were gone. However, those men and their families who secretly considered themselves "Tories" would not use the term until after Henry Addington[99] came to power in February 1801.

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[95] Peter D.G. Thomas, "Party Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Some Myths and a Touch of Reality," in British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies 10 (1987): 205-215.
[96] Quoted in Bulmer-Thomas, 29.
[97] Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, 101.
[98] Quoted in O'Gorman, "Party in the Later Eighteenth Century," in The Whig Ascendancy, ed. by Cannon, 80.
[99] Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth (1757-1844). Son of a Court doctor and childhood-friend of Pitt the Younger, he rose to be Speaker of the House of Commons from 1789 to 1801, and then served as First Lord of the Treasury until 1804. Watson (page 402) wrote: "A man of clear common sense who had to contend with more talented but less reliable rivals." Tory re-emergence complete!

As "Right-wing Whigs" they no longer faced exclusion, and declared open allegiance to the Crown, after having faced a "choice, between what Lord Suffolk called 'the servility of the court' and 'the principles of levellers'."[100] Their opponents, the "New Whigs" emerged "reform-minded and oriented more toward popular support than toward patronage."[101] Therefore, with the advent of George III's Court-coalition and the second Marquess of Rockingham's Opposition force, Great Britain passed from the "era of personal parties" into "the era of political parties."[102]

Retrospectively, much like the "King's Friends," the late Duke of Bedford and his close followers, though continuing to use the label of Whig, supported the King's rights over prerogative and patronage. His Grace led a Whiggish group out of both political duty and Russell reverence for his martyred ancestor, William, Lord Russell. Over time, however, many of the "old corps" elite argued "his union with a Gower had lowered the tone of those Whig principles which he had inherited, and fixed him too devotedly on the side of royalty and the prerogative."[103] Ironically, despite Bedford's fervent denials of these accusations, the Bloomsbury leaders under the second Earl Gower's guidance not only accepted the covert doctrines of Toryism, but also stood among the principal players bringing about the Tory re-emergence.

The modern scholar, Paul Langford, has observed:

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[100] Quoted in Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, 114.
[101] Harry M. Ward, The American Revolution: Nationhood Achieved, 1763-1788 (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1995), 24.
[102] Namier and Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790, 1:198-199.
[103] J.H. Wiffen, Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell; From the Time of the Norman Conquest, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman Publishers, 1833), 2:563.

> By the 1770s the surviving element in Tory thinking was not the divine right of the monarch, but rather the divine right of properly constituted authority and the non-resistance which certainly lingered on in their political vocabulary was owed not to the King but to the King in Parliament.[104]

As noted, with the absence of their old chief, Bedford's followers devoted themselves to becoming more conservative in outlook. Under Lord Gower and the Dowager-Duchess of Bedford, the "Bloomsbury Gang" began to pay increasing reverence to the King as a constitutional monarch bound by duty to his people and God. In fact, once His Majesty's master conception of a reliable party under his influence was a reality, he turned to these friends and allies to keep it in power.

As crucial members of George III's Court-coalition, the "Bloomsbury Gang" agreed to be used for their electoral contributions and political wherewithal in exchange for personal and family glory. Happy for the King and themselves, they saw this partnership of cooperation as their pathway to even brighter lives. Not completely power-hungry, these peers of the realm were bound by hierarchical and spiritual duties to God, King, and Country. Realizing their effect on the monarchy, these men now set about adapting specific roles of influence within the peerage, the "Established" Church of England, the Houses of Parliament, and the domestic and foreign policies of the North Government.

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[104] Paul Langford, "Old Whigs, Old Tories and the American Revolution," in The British Atlantic Empire before the American Revolution, ed. by P. Marshall and G. Williams (London: Frank Cass Limited, 1980), 124.

IV

Leadership in the House of Lords: Voices of Prominence

The period of the Bloomsbury peers greatest power fell during the worst crisis of George III's reign: the American colonial conflict. These hereditary noblemen felt duty-bound to not only participate in crucial debates, but also influence the leadership circles of the British nation. This chapter concentrates primarily on a study of those Cabinet officials who maintained "voices of prominence" in both the everyday affairs and extraordinary debates in the Lords. It also reveals their opponents, who

> included well-informed peers with ministerial, legal, military and naval experience, as well as independent-minded figures such as Richmond and Radnor, whom it could be awkward and time-consuming to offend.[1]

At one time or another, many of these same leaders served their nation in one of the Great Secretariats for: the Southern Department, the Northern Department, and the American Colonies. The Southern and Northern departments were consolidated in 1782 and renamed the Foreign Office and the Home Office, respectively. The American Colonial Office was abolished in 1782 after the loss of the colonies. Each of these three Cabinet positions carried independent duties and responsibilities from the others, but significant overlapping bureaucracy brought progress to a crawl.

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[1] G.M. Ditchfield, "The House of Lords in the Age of the American Revolution," in A Pillar of The Constitution: The House of Lords in British Politics, 1640-1784, ed. by Clyve Jones (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 208.

Since the office of Secretary of State for the American Colonies was created at the beginning of this period, it is important to explain its foundation. This office was established on 20 January 1768 to provide not only the Crown and its ministers with better insights into American affairs, but also the colonists with the appropriate central authority to address concerns and grievances. This foundation occurred in response to suggestions from a former Secretary of State and Irish Viceroy, Lord Halifax,[2] who believed "the somewhat ramshackle and disorderly Empire should be rationalized and made more efficient."[3] At the time, many also viewed this creation as a slight against the distrusted Earl of Shelburne. Historian Steven Watson observed:

> [The Earl of] Shelburne was the most brilliant of Chatham's disciples. He was also the most disliked. His influence was particularly damaged by the cabinet reshuffle. For out of his department was carved a third secretaryship of state, that for the colonies...therefore, Viscount Hillsborough replaced [him] as the minister for imperial affairs.[4]

During the short existence of the American Office, only three men served as its head: the Earl of Hillsborough,[5] 1768-1772; the Earl of Dartmouth,[6] 1772-1775; and Lord George Germain,[7] 1775-1782. Revolutionary War scholar Harry Ward wrote: "The

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[2] George Montagu-Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, K.G. (1716-1771). He was the Ranger of Bushey Park (1731-71), a sinecure in which his sister's son, Lord North, succeeded him. Due to his benevolent actions and honest administration while President of the Board of Trade, Lord Halifax was often referred to as the "Father of the Colonies." The King expressed the sorrow of many "at the loss of so amiable a man." For further details of his life, see: "Dunk, George Montagu, second Earl of Halifax," DNB, 6:199-201.

[3] Olson and Brown, 24. The Secretaryship for the Colonies was held in conjunction with the office of "First Lord of Trade" from January 1768 until November 1779. This Third Office of State began as a slight against Shelburne and ended as an insult to Sackville, but was of far greater consequence within the wider arena of imperial affairs.

[4] Watson, 129.

[5] Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount & first Earl of Hillsborough, later first Marquess of Downshire (1718-1793).

[6] William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth (1731-1801).

[7] Lord George Germain, first Viscount Sackville of Drayton (1716-1785).

secretary of state for America had the services of two undersecretaries and five clerks. Still, imperial administration affecting the colonies lacked central control [causing] confusion and duplication...."[8] Other ministers felt it necessary to advise on and take control of various aspects of the newest office within the *Conciliabulum*, supposedly under the guise of helping the Secretary. Regardless of how autocratic or benevolent the Secretary was in his relations with the American colonists, the tumultuous times did not allow the office to make progress in dispelling mounting grievances.

No two men did more to alienate and maintain the Colonies than the Earls of Hillsborough and Dartmouth, respectively. In fact, Lords Hillsborough and Dartmouth were opposites in almost every way, except for being gentlemen of the aristocracy. The former was a "King's Friend," Irish, outspoken, vivacious, and quite opinionated about the colonies requiring punishment for their disgraceful attitudes toward the mother-country. The latter was a Rockinghamite whose support wavered around his step-brother (Lord North), English, soft-spoken, withdrawn, and supportive of the colonists' rights as citizens under the British Constitution.

Soon after the King's accession, Great Britain began to exercise her right as the mother-country for a growing empire and set about instituting a series of laws and taxes.[9] Following the passage of the Stamp Act on 22 March 1765, American colonists protested

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[8] Ward, 23.

[9] During the debates over whether American colonists should be allowed to remain self-governing, two "Bloomsbury" leaders, the Duke of Bedford and Viscount Weymouth, rose to agree that the Colonies flourished when left to their own definitional development. However, both were among those peers supporting Lord Hillsborough who believed that while self-governance was a good thing in some aspects, the colonists could not be allowed to forget that they belonged to the motherland.

against taxation without representation. The British government, however, felt it had an unassailable right to impose taxes upon its colonists – especially the costs of maintenance going back to the French and Indian War. After a five-year period of debate with underlying insults exchanged between Parliament and the colonial assemblies, Lord North came to power as "Prime Minister," or more precisely, "First Lord of the Treasury," and agreed to rescind all taxes with the exception of the Tea Tax.

With most of the colonial grievances settled or quieted for the moment, Lord Weymouth, as the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, rallied his fellow ministers to bring the developing Falkland Islands crisis to the forefront at the opening of Parliament on 9 November 1770. This crisis involved a sovereignty dispute between Spain and Great Britain over the Falkland Islands off the coast of Argentina. For the next six weeks war looked inevitable, but North and most of his Cabinet desired "a settlement which would satisfy honour without prejudicing the question of right."[10] Weymouth, however, emerged in an awkward position as the only member of the Cabinet in favor of declaring war against Spain.

On 16 December 1770, Viscount Weymouth resigned on account of disagreements with his colleagues over the measures to be taken against Spain because he felt stronger measures were dictated. Six days before, his colleague and later successor – William Henry Zuylestein, fourth Earl of Rochford[11] – wrote the King that Weymouth "found it

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[10] Vincent T. Harlow, The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793, Volume 1: Discovery and Revolution (London: Longmans, Green, and Company Limited, 1952), 31.

[11] William Henry Nassau de Zuylestein, fourth Earl of Rochford, K.G. (1717-1781). Having served as Northern Secretary, he transferred to become Southern Secretary of State on 19 December. This lord was a member of the "King's Friends," and fairly friendly with the leaders of the "Bloomsbury Gang."

Impossible to go on contradicted by your Majesty's Servants & where his own Department was immediately concerned."[12] Several reasons have been suggested for this resignation, although it was most "popularly attributed to the want of support he received."[13] A.S. Turberville asserts that Weymouth "evidently felt himself unable to cope with the situation if the Spanish crisis resulted in war."[14] This statement contradicts historical fact, for Weymouth advocated war.

Anxious to prove his overall support for the Crown and its Ministry, and to avoid any apparent breach with the announcement of his withdrawal, Lord Weymouth communicated his feelings to Lord Rochford. This Earl, in turn, wrote to the King expressing his friend's sentiments:

> If Lord Sandwich was made Secretary of State for the Northern Department the post office if given to Mr. Thynne would [not] be vacant, and such an employment given to his Brother would be convincing proof to the World that he Lord Weymouth had not quarrelled with administration, at the same time he would bring into his Brothers Borough a informed by me of this arrangement and seems to think it very feasible.[15]

In the end, Spain apologized for attacking the British colonists on the Falklands, and "both sides [secretly] agreed to evacuate the islands and so to avoid any immediate reopening of the squabble."[16] Consequently, Lord Weymouth also profited for his rest from daily government allowed him to spend time with his growing family and building projects at

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[12] "Lord Rochford to George III, 10 December 1770," in Fortescue, vol. 2: no. 852, 182.
[13] Annual Register, 1770, 41-45.
[14] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 349 n1. Historians should also disregard Von Ruville's proposition that Weymouth would have "preferred in that event to serve under Chatham."
[15] "Lord Rochford to George III, 11 December 1770," in Fortescue, vol. 2: no. 854, 183.
[16] Watson, 155.

Longleat House in Wiltshire. The ascendant Thynne family pride remained intact with Weymouth's brother appointed one of the Joint Postmaster-Generals, a post he held until 1789 when he foolishly supported the Prince of Wales's unsuccessful Regency attempt.

Despite his disgust with several of the actions of his former Ministry, Lord Weymouth refused any dealings with the Opposition. Indeed, as early as 10 June 1771, George III suggested him to Lord North for the office of Lord Privy Seal should the Duke of Grafton decline it.[17] This opportunity never materialized for Grafton, after five months of peaceful retirement, put aside his memories of betrayal from allies throughout the Court and accepted. The duke was a remarkable man, who stated that his "full desire would be to give all assistance to his Majesty's Government."[18] Always a man of his word, His Grace remained faithful to the North Government until November 1775, when his conscience would no longer allow him to participate in a government so obstinately opposed to concession with its own colonists.

It has been concluded that His Majesty "liked [Viscount Weymouth] personally and sometimes maneuvered for his advancement," though "North never liked or greatly trusted him."[19] To the contrary of the latter opinion, most primary sources speak volumes about the high regard in which both the King and his Prime Minister held this nobleman. Quite significantly, upon Lord Hillsborough's resignation in August 1772, Weymouth was

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[17] "George III to Lord North, 10 June 1771," in Fortescue, vol. 2: no. 961, 253.
[18] Anson, Autobiography and Correspondence of Grafton, 242.
[19] Alan Valentine, The British Establishment, 1760-1784: An Eighteenth Century Biographical Dictionary, 2 vols. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 2:862. Historians might contradict Valentine's latter opinion since the Norths seemed on good terms with most couples of the "Bloomsbury Gang," especially Lord and Lady Weymouth. In addition, Lord North would hardly have corresponded frequently, or confidentially, with a man he did not trust and/or respect.

offered the position of Secretary of State for the American Colonies, but Edmund Burke and others have recorded that he "refused the offer on the grounds," that this "was no true Secretary of State."[20] Out of *noblesse oblige*, Lord Dartmouth accepted, and was later commended by Benjamin Franklin as "a truly good man [who] wishes sincerely a good understanding with the colonies."[21] While contemplating this office, "Dartmouth was urged by both Lords Hillsborough and Chesterfield to obtain unrestricted power in his office, the latter ominously adding that 'if we have no Secretary of State with full and undisputed powers for America, in a few years we may as well have no America.'"[22]

Before Lord Weymouth's re-emergence as leader of the House of Lords, the chamber was alternatively controlled by the Earls of Rochford and Suffolk. During this period the most serious matters, in addition to colonial affairs, were the debates over the Royal Marriage Bill of 1772 and the East India Company Regulating Bill of 1773. Both gave the Opposition opportunities to preach from the "bully-pulpit" criticizing and condemning the prerogatives of the Crown. But, surprisingly, both were eventually passed with few limitations on His Majesty's authority.

George III, after witnessing his uncle and then his brother associate with and then

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[20] "Edmund Burke to James Delancy, Esq., Governor of New York, 20 August 1772," in Thomas W. Copeland, gen. ed., The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, vol. 2: July 1768-June 1774, ed. Lucy S. Sutherland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 326-330 & especially footnote #2, 327.
[21] Valentine, The British Establishment, 2:529. Lord Hillsborough was no longer able to tolerate the ungracious demands to rescind ALL "obnoxious taxes," or to "reconcile himself to a plan of settlement on the Ohio, which all the world approves." Quoted from "Correspondence of Lord Hillsborough to Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, April 1768 to August 1772," in DNB, 9:879.
[22] "Lord Chesterfield to Lord Dartmouth, August 1772," quoted in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 2:148 n91.

marry commoners of questionable quality, resolved to have a Royal Marriage Bill brought forward.[23] Preserving his channels of authority, His Majesty wrote on 4 February 1772:

> LORD NORTH – I am much pleased with the draft of the Message, and with that of the Bill for preventing Marriages in the Royal Family without the previous consent of the Crown, except the Issue of Princesses that have or may be married into Foreign Families; but am much of opinion that the Addresses of Thanks from the two Houses of Parliament should be Separate and brought by the usual Messengers, as this though a salutary Measure, is of utility to the Dignity of My Family and not merely of public Advantage, which are the occasions that require the most Solemn Mode of expressing gratitude to the Throne.[24]

Seventeen days later, Lord Rochford presented the bill in proper language to the House of Lords. These provisions were "more effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty king George the second...from marrying without the approbation of his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, first had and obtained."[25] After several weeks of debates and the addition of a clause stating that any member of the Royal Family upon age 25 might petition Parliament if in disagreement with the reigning sovereign for the right to marry, both Houses of Parliament passed this limiting Act. The Lords' majority, despite Lord Radnor's scurrilous insinuations, overwhelmed the Opposition forces by 90 to 26.[26]

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[23] H.R.H. Prince Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, married Mrs. Anne Horton of Catton Hall in October 1771. The following year, H.R.H. Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, announced that he had married Maria Clement Walpole, the Dowager-Countess Waldegrave, in 1766. In retaliation for their slights on his family's dignity, George III declared both couples excluded from Court.

[24] "George III to Lord North, 4 February 1772," in Fortescue, vol. 2: no. 1006, 310.

[25] Cobbett, 17:384.

[26] For the entire series of debates, see: Cobbett, 17:383-397. This indefatigable speaker was William Pleydell-Bouverie, second Viscount Folkestone, later first Earl of Radnor (1725-1776). Information on this family's connections and their ultra-liberal political careers is included in his son's biography, Ronald K. Huch, TheRadical Lord Radnor: The Public Life of Viscount Folkestone, Third Earl of Radnor (1779-1869) (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 1977. The third Earl "possessed the happy union of dignity, ease, and courteousness that distinguished the early nineteenth century aristocracy."

By mid-1773 Lord Suffolk, as the Secretary of State for the Northern Department, was consumed with not only restraining the Governors who operated the East India Company, but also regulating its profits and power-base. He was caught off guard when several of his Government's prominent peers stood forth with the Opposition in protest. Several of these same men had joined other peers six years earlier, on 26 June 1767, against rescinding and regulating the East India dividend.[27] These sincere politicians viewed "the first parliamentary incursion into the affairs of the Company...as a predatory raid on the Company's new riches rather than as an attempt to impose reforms upon it."[28]

Ironically, after a few Cabinet meetings in the summer of 1773, these apparently disgruntled men were brought (or bribed) back to the fold. Even more paradoxical, though fundamentally opposed to government management of the East India Company, many lords including Suffolk voted to exercise this dubious right of the Crown. "Therefore 1773 marks the point at which, reluctantly, it came to be realized that England could not confine her interest in India merely to trade."[29]

About the same time as the British began their subjugation of the Indian subcontinent, the memories of harsher regulations having been repealed faded in American minds. The ungrateful colonists could not see that they had been heard at Westminster.

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[27] Cobbett, 16:359.

[28] P.J. Marshall, Problems of Empire: Britain and India, 1757-1813 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968), 30. To witness this time of imperial transition, read: Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India, (2 vols.); and Mark Bence-Jones, The Viceroys of India (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982). For further views before and after government interference, see biographies for Lord Clive of India and Warren Hastings.

[29] Watson, 172. To learn more about imperialist expansion in the late George era, one might read in Vincent T. Harlow, British Colonial Developments, 1774-1834 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953); and The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793: Volume 2, New Continents and Changing Values (London: Longmans and Company, 1964).

Instead, the remaining Tea Tax came to cause the colonists even greater anxiety than all of the taxes levied against them in the past. Several demonstrations were made to show defiance, not least of which was the Boston Tea Party on 16 December 1773. Throughout 1774 and 1775, members of Lord North's Ministry were aghast at the general anguish and hatred directed at Whitehall from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.[30]

As to ministerial unity in London, Revolutionary War scholar Ian Christie wrote:

> No serious disagreement divided the cabinet at this time. If Lords Suffolk, Gower, and Sandwich were the hottest for coercion, nevertheless North and Dartmouth fully accepted the necessity, and Rochford and Lord Chancellor Apsley heartily concurred with the majority view.[31]

Over these two years, the "King's Friends-Bloomsbury Gang" coalition lobbied for their Parliamentary supporters to retaliate by sending troops and issuing harsh regulations including martial law. All the while, the former minister and harbinger of English constitutional rights, Lord Chatham, and his colleagues, repeatedly pleaded for the immediate removal of troops and the repeal of hostile restraints. From London on 8 July 1775, South Carolinian observer Ralph Izard wrote to his friend, and later governor, Henry Laurens, in Charleston:

> Lord North's tone is a little humbled since the defeat at Lexington, and the conduct of New York has been known here. The assurances given to the Peers, by Lord Sandwich, and to the House of Commons, by Colonel Grant, that the

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[30] For those interested in the immediate events leading up to open rebellion in the American colonies, see: "Chapter 8: Crisis Over Tea," and "Chapter 10: The Continent Unites," in Ian R. Christie and Benjamin W. Labaree, eds., Empire or Independence, 1760-1776: A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the American Revolution, (London: Phaidon Publishers, 1976), 163-182 & 197-213.

[31] *Ibid.*, 184.

> Americans were a set of the most infamous poltroons, made him expect that all would fall prostrate.[32]

Notwithstanding, "despite the more gloomy newspaper reports, which made the Lord President [Earl Gower] write from his ancestral seat at Trentham Hall in Shropshire, of fears for a 'troublesome' session of Parliament, ministers remained set on their course."[33]

During these years, Lord Suffolk led the North Ministry's anti-American policies in the Lords. His efforts culminated in a refusal of the peers to accept petitions from the colonial merchants after 1775. Earlier this same year, he was faced with one of the Earl of Chatham's pronouncements from on high, which advocated troop withdrawal to end the disturbances in North America.[34] Fortunately for Lord North and his cronies, a large majority of Parliament favored the maintenance of troops in the American colonies, giving the Government a decisive victory. Their former colleague and oratorical ally, Lord Weymouth, helped lead this challenge to Chatham's resolution, but acted so respectful that Horace Walpole suggested that "he seemed to think the latter would still be minister once more."[35]

Viscount Weymouth, nearing the height of his power, was appointed Groom of the Stole on 29 March 1775, but "still looked to better himself by a change."[36] Between the sixth and ninth of November 1775, George III corresponded back and forth with Lord

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[32] "Ralph Izard to Henry Laurens, 8 July 1775," in Anne Izard Deas, ed., Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, From the Year 1774 to 1804; With A Short Memoir, 2 vols. (New York: Charles S. Francis and Company, 1844), 1:102.
[33] Christie and Labaree, 215.
[34] Cobbett, 18:149-168 (Suffolk's speech, page 160; Weymouth's speech, page 168).
[35] Quoted in "Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth and first Marquess of Bath," DNB, 19:851.

North as to whether Lord Weymouth would consider returning to power as Lord Privy Seal.[37] However, due to the opposition posed by Lord Dartmouth who coveted the position for himself, Weymouth bowed to the government's best interests and stepped aside to accommodate this whining peer.[38] The following excerpt specifically captures the feelings shared by the prime minister and king:

> Lord Weymouth is very accomodating, & will, he has assured Lord North this morning, without the least regret accept the Seals of the Secretary of State either in the Northern or Southern Department, whichever is the most agreable to his Majesty & to Lord Suffolk. Lord North can not say too much praise of the accomodating spirit of Lord Weymouth or of the friendly & cordial declarations that he has made of constant attachment to his Majesty & the present system.[39]

After a self-imposed, five-year hiatus, Viscount Weymouth returned to office on 10 November 1775, to guide the North Ministry through its travails in the House of Lords. He was reinstated as the Secretary of State for the Southern Department. With special concern for the North American colonies, he met immediately with the new American Secretary, Lord George Germain, to request a joint-undersecretary be assigned to keep both chiefs informed on mutual matters.[40] Interestingly, Lord Weymouth's most

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[36] *Ibid.*

[37] "George III and Lord North, 6th—9th November 1775," in Fortescue, vol. 3: nos. 1740-1750, 277-287. The Duke of Grafton resigned this office because his conscience would no longer support the North Ministry's anti-American policies. Thus, the cautious Grafton finally questioned the Crown's authority.

[38] As North's "Beloved Brother," Dartmouth was guaranteed a place. As the Colonial Secretariat proved too much for his conscientious but feeble administrative skills, he jockeyed for a new post. Unfortunately, there were those who resented his religiosity. In fact, Lord Bute rejected him as a lord of the bedchamber, "lest so sanctimonious a man should gain too far on his majesty's piety." DNB, 9:858.

[39] "Lord North to George III, 9 November 1775," in Fortescue, vol. 3: no. 1749, 283-284.

[40] Lord George Germain succeeded Lord Dartmouth as Secretary of State for the American Colonies on 10 November 1775. For correspondence relating to this and other changes in the Cabinet, see: Fortescue, 3:277-288.

fascinating piece of correspondence, dated 24 November 1775, was a note from the King discussing the use of "Irish soldiers under British [English] colonels in America," and how many must stay to "Guard the British Establishment."[41] As His Majesty's minister as well as Groom of the Stole, he met often with the King who impressed upon him that his underlying duty was to manage the Government's affairs in the Lords.

As the Government's spokesman, from the winter of 1775 onwards, Weymouth was the oratorical equal of any of his fellow peers, with the exception of his opponents, the Earl of Chatham and the Duke of Grafton. When the occasion demanded, he did not hesitate to strike out fearlessly and his detractors had invariably to expect rough handling. As he confined himself to pressing issues and employed cogent arguments, he was sure of an attentive audience. Over the next four years, this accomplished peer attempted to deal decisively with the debates surrounding the colonial rebellion in America, the disrespectful and blatant intervention of both France and Spain within Britain's empire, and the distressed state of Ireland.

Lord North's newly staffed Ministry "was now a cabinet for war, presided over by a champion of peace and economy."[42] Lord Weymouth built consensus and got along well with most members of the *Conciliabulum*. Unfortunately, as each month passed, the Government drifted closer and closer to disaster as a result of their ruinous colonial policies. Lord North, divided between his desire to please the King, who provided him with expressions of gratitude, and his eagerness to placate his own reason and conscience,

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[41] "George III to Lord Weymouth, 24 November 1775," in Longleat Mss. (microfilm), vol. 38: reel 19, "out-of-sequence" page for 24 November 1775.

both outraged by the measures he had been forced to take against the Colonists, waited expectantly for some chance to lay down his oppressive burden. One contemporary, Claude Crepigny, wrote to an American friend in London, from Tingmouth, Devonshire:

> To see a K___, a Tyrant, and his Ministers Tools—and Rogues—is not very surprising.—But to see a whole Nation mad—is rather more extraordinary.—Even now, I can scarce meet with one man in Twenty—who does not wish to see the nation, and himself a Bankrupt—rather than not bring America to the feet of Lord George Germaine. This indeed is an addressing Country—and a blessed stock of Tories overrun it.[43]

As to Lord George Germain, he entered into the service of His Majesty's Government at a crucial moment, when a strong advocate of military coercion was needed. This scion of the aristocracy and his fellow ministers "held fast to the belief that [their] task was to check a civil broil within the empire, when in fact [they were] attempting to check the historic developments of more than a century."[44] According to eighteenth-century standards and "in the judgment of modern scholars he was an efficient administrator and a good strategist, and not guilty of various errors of omission and commission which have often been laid at his door."[45] However, lacking dynamism but filled with arrogance,

> Germain inspired no one, least of all the generals he was directing. With Howe, Carleton, Burgoyne, and Clinton, he was contradictory and confusing in his orders, quarrelsome in his demands, and vindictive in his treatment of each

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[42] Watson, 203.
[43] "Claude Crespigny to Ralph Izard, 6 September 1776," quoted in Deas, 1:226.
[44] Gerald Saxon Brown, The American Secretary: The Colonial Policy of Lord George Germain, 1775-1778 (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), 179.
[45] Ian R. Christie, Wars and Revolutions: Britain, 1760-1815 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Limited, 1982), 114.

> general in turn. Whatever North's government had gained in efficiency, it was lost in duplicity.[46]

In his venomous biography of Lord George Germain, historian Alan Valentine pondered whether he had been objectionably harsh in response to his own "emotional handicap" of disdain for this unsavory, questionable minister. This writer summarized:

> From the surviving records of Lord George it seems clear that where events called upon him for something deeper than dutiful obligations or the proper gesture; where the head should have yielded to the heart, Lord George's heart did not hear or did not answer. The ego ruled, and the ego alone could not feel or understand the sensations of a proud Irishman, a rebellious American, [an impoverished relation,] or a discouraged general....In those incapacities of the spirit lay his failures as military leader and statesman.[47]

On a more balanced note, Gerard Saxon Brown advocated that Germain "infused new vigor...[and within] his first year in office saw the raising, the equipping, and the sending beyond the Atlantic of the largest expeditionary force Great Britain had ever put in the field."[48] Consequently, with clearer hindsight than Germain's contemporary evaluators in the 1770s, modern researchers might say, if Lord George Germain was working in a cloud of misinformation and if he failed to see situations as they actually were, the same was true of most of the "King's Friends," particularly of the King himself.

Within the Upper House beginning in March 1776, Viscount Weymouth carried out the first series of debates specifically regarding the colonial rebellion in America. He

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[46] Don Cook, The Long Fuse: How England Lost the American Colonies, 1760-1785 (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1995), 239.
[47] Alan Valentine, Lord George Germain (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1962), 494.
[48] Gerard Saxon Brown, 176.

was especially gifted at leading the Ministry's frenzied debates with the Opposition over the use of Hessian soldiers and the moratorium on hostilities within the North American colonies.[49] Less than four months later, the colonists terminated further discussion as to whether peaceful conciliation was possible. On 4 July 1776, the thirteen colonies joined together and went beyond their previously mild protests with their seditious Declaration of Independence. Upon the French defeat in the "Seven Years' War" (known in America as the "French and Indian War"), the Comte de Vergennes had predicted that the American colonists would no longer need the mother-country. This eminent French statesman wrote: "They stand no longer in need of her protection; she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence."[50]

The Comte de Vergennes' point may be further explored through the experience of Viscount Weymouth who had a personal as well as political stake in the outcome of the rebellion. In the first tense months of 1776 he had inherited a vast 700,000-acre North Carolinian estate.[51] Hugh Finlay, the American agent of his uncle, the second Earl Granville, reported to the Thynnes' London solicitors:

> I note with pleasure that Lord Granville left his whole fortune to Mr. Thynne. Long may he live to enjoy it in health and happiness. I did not see the papers but doubtless his English estate is great, his American estate – a Kingdom in point of extent – will be of immense value when the tenants, and those who occupy the land without grants shall

[49] Cobbett, 18:1226-1227 & 1247 *et seq.*

[50] Quoted in Montgomery, 346.

[51] This estate was bequeathed to Lord Weymouth in February 1776 from his maternal uncle, Robert Carteret, second Earl Granville (1721-1776), who died childless. Weymouth's brother inherited the Carteret estates in England and in 1784 was raised to the peerage as "Baron Carteret of Hawnes."

be obliged to render common justice to the proprietor.[52]

A similar comparison may be made between Britain as the mother-country and Weymouth's uncle as the lord-proprietor, both of whom were expected to protect their tenants. But with the disaffection of the settlers in North Carolina, Lord Granville's heirs never managed to properly authenticate or effectively claim his ownership of the land. Thus, having neither gained nor directly lost his colonial fortune, Lord Weymouth emerged much better than Great Britain.

Over the next three years, Lord Weymouth became the spokesman for the Government on colonial policy in the House of Lords. Invariably, in cooperation with the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington, and his replacement, Charles Jenkinson, after 1778, Weymouth provided much needed "councils of war" outside the Cabinet for Lord Sandwich, in charge of the navy, and Lord George Germain, in charge of military affairs. Yet, in retrospect, historians find that most Cabinet members viewed "the role of the armed forces...not as one of conquering a hostile population but of 'helping the good Americans to overcome the bad'."[53] In collaborative efforts with the King, the above officials sent out secret agents to win over American leaders with special sinecures, pensions, peerages, and promises for the future. To such offers, Benjamin Franklin wrote the Government's agent in Brussels, Charles de Weissenstein, on 1 July 1778:

> As to my future fame, I am content to rest it on my past and present conduct, without seeking an addition to it in the crooked, dark paths you propose to me where I should most

[52] David Burnett, Longleat: The Story of an English Country House (Stanbridge, Wimborne, Dorset: The Dovecote Press, 1988), 117.
[53] Christie, Wars and Revolutions, 112.

certainly lose it.[54]

On a less devious and more industrious note, George III's Court-coalition refused to have Great Britain viewed as "the aggressor" or bully against timid, defenseless victims. However, Horace Walpole asserted that these royal ministers were forced to change their opinions in time. On 16 February 1778, leaders of the Opposition introduced debate "on General Gates' letter to the Earl of Thanet respecting the Capture of General Burgoyne's Army...."[55] The Ministry went from demanding "the unconditional surrender of the colonies," to requesting "peace at any rate."[56] In fact, Lord Weymouth and Alexander Wedderburn[57] were the moderates around whom Lord North and his faithful followers, Dartmouth and Bathurst,[58] centered. Conversely, Lords Gower and Suffolk led Sandwich, Germain, and Thurlow[59] in absolute opposition to peace without an American surrender.

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[54] Quoted from Benjamin Franklin's Letter Rejecting King George's Offer of a Pension for Life and a Peerage if He would Betray the American Colonies in Our Revolutionary War (Fiskeville, RI: Interlaken Mills, 1954), which was reprinted from vol. 2, The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence, by Francis Wharton, in the Boston Public Library. Six-page pamphlet in Alderman Library at University of Virginia.

[55] Cobbett, 19:733-734.

[56] Quoted from Horace Walpole's Last Journals, in DNB, 19:851.

[57] Alexander Wedderburn, first Baron Loughborough and later first Earl of Rosslyn (1733-1805). This brilliant lawyer intrigued over time to become Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Lord Chancellor in remarkable succession. Though he was never completely trusted as a "Bloomsbury Gang" member, "Rigby wrote to Bedford that Wedderburn's speeches 'mixed wit, oratory and abuse to perfection'."

[58] Henry Bathurst, created first Baron Apsley, but later inherited as second Earl Bathurst (1714-1794). He served as Lord Chancellor from 1771 to 1778, and then after a brief absence, returned to serve as Lord President of the Council from November 1779 to March 1782. Henry's "second marriage in 1759 brought him into the family and political circle of the Duke of Bedford." However, "he was not popular, even with his ministry colleagues...." Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:59.

[59] Edward Thurlow, first Baron Thurlow (1731-1806). After serving the North Ministry as Attorney-General from 1771-1778, he was appointed Lord Chancellor until April 1783, and then again under Pitt from 1785-1792. Thurlow's "legal self-confidence was greater than his legal knowledge, and both were greater than his legal ethics, but he asserted his opinions with such impressive beetle-browed assurance that his legal opinions were seldom openly defied." Valentine, The British Establishment, 2:860. He was a personal friend of Lords Gower and Weymouth, even tutoring the Gower boys for a period. His story is recorded in Robert Gore-Browne, Chancellor Thurlow: The Life and Times of an XVIIIth Century Lawyer (London: Hamish Hamilton Limited, 1953).

Though risking division among his most influential supporters, on 17 February 1778, Lord North shocked both colleagues and opponents by requesting the formation of a peace delegation. Two days later, he announced two motions: one calling for Parliamentary "intentions for imposing" colonial taxation policies to be delineated; and another, "to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the Disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North America."[60] Harangued from every side, North created his American Committee, as Edmund Burke wrote, "to find means of reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies," as well as "for settling the many troublesome questions."[61]

Unfortunately, this peace commission was doomed from its assemblage, consisting

> of a well-meaning but inexperienced young peer of thirty, selected to mollify the Bedford clan; an experienced but intriguing politician who had been serving under one of the most downright of the anti-Americans in the cabinet; a bully-boy of dubious character and loud mouth who was opposed to independence on any terms; and two military commanders both distrustful of the ministry.[62]

Unrealistic and unprepared for their task, the three civilian Commissioners were back in London with dashed hopes and empty hands by March 1779. "The peace commission was another example of the unreality that permeated Whitehall and Westminster. It ended as it

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[60] Cobbett, 19:775.

[61] "Edmund Burke to the Citizens of Bristol, 20 January 1775," in Thomas W. Copeland, gen. ed., The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, vol. 3: July 1774-June 1778, ed. George H. Guttridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 101-103.

[62] Valentine, Lord North, 1:532. In order, these men were: Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle; William Eden, later first Baron Auckland; Mr. George Johnstone, Esq.; General Sir Henry Clinton; and Admiral Lord Richard Howe ["4th Viscount Howe & 1st Earl Howe, K.G., was an ardent King's Friend."].

had begun, in dissension, double talk, and futility."[63]

Furious debates consumed Lord Weymouth's life as leader even while the above commission was still in its planning stages. These unruly debates, or perhaps at times yelling matches, came to a head on 7 April 1778. That brilliant statesman and ferocious champion of Liberty, the third Duke of Richmond,[64] rose and put forward a proposition demanding the withdrawal of troops from the colonies and a reorganization of the ruling Ministry. This directive was addressed to George III and has been summarized as follows:

> His Majesty was asked 'to put an end to a system too well understood in its effects, which by the acts of wicked had prevailed in his Court and Administration', also, in view of the severe losses in men, money, and merchandise already sustained in a disastrous war to withdraw our troops from America, where they could do no good, to England, where they were urgently needed for our defence.[65]

Weymouth repudiated Richmond's offensive comments and denounced his noble colleague's evil scheme "as an infringement of the prerogative."[66] The aged Earl of Chatham, who commanded respect due to both his visible infirmity and eloquence, urged that Great Britain must make concessions rather than lose her colonies. He dramatically declared, "My Lords, I rejoice that the grave has not yet closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy!"[67] In the middle of his last speech, he fainted and had to be carried from the Lords Chamber, dying soon thereafter, having defended the rights of the "Common Man"

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[63] Valentine, Lord North, 1:549.
[64] Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubginy, K.G. (1735-1806).
[65] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 373.
[66] Quoted from "Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth...," in DNB, 19:851.
[67] Peter Douglas Brown, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 392.

(all British subjects) and the monarchy hand-in-hand until the moment of his death.[68]

Respected and viewed as effective within the Upper Chamber, Lords Gower, Suffolk, and Weymouth appeared as a "Faithful Triumvirate," dictating policy and demanding acquiescence. Each of the three had a hard time reconciling matters of policy with outright lies to his fellow peers. This conflict may be best depicted in their handling of the second series of debates regarding French and Spanish involvement in the American colonial conflict.

In October 1777, General John Burgoyne[69] attempted a masterful march from Canada down the Hudson Valley to isolate New England from the other colonies. This ended in the infamous British defeat at Saratoga, which provided American lobbyists visiting Versailles all the leverage needed to convince France to enter the war. On 5 March 1778, Lord Weymouth purposely – though quite foolishly – denied all knowledge of a treaty between France and a delegation of the rebellious colonies.[70] Yet, on 13 March, the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Noailles, visited the state offices at Whitehall to announce that it was the pleasure of His Christian Majesty Louis XVI to declare war on Great Britain through an alliance with the United States of America. Four days later, Lord North solemnly entered the House of Commons, and announced the development of this fateful alliance. Having done the same in the Lords, at a previously

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[68] This death scene was commemorated by John Singleton Copley to capture Chatham's collapse with many of the most famous, and perhaps infamous, peers in attendance for his last stand against injustice.
[69] General John Burgoyne (1722-1792). Watson (page 76) wrote: "He was both a soldier of ideas who frequently clashed with superiors and an active politician who took a leading part in attacking corruption in Indian affairs. He was also a playwright. With his wife Lady Charlotte Smith-Stanley (daughter of the 11th Earl of Derby), with whom he had eloped, he was prominent in social and artistic circles in London."
[70] Cobbett, 19:835-836.

appointed time, Lord Weymouth immediately requested a resolution of support for His Britannic Majesty's Government.[71]

The House of Lords moved this loyal address to express "horror at that country's [France's] unprovoked aggression and pledging 'zealous assistance and support'."[72] On 20 March 1778, Lord Weymouth, in his capacity as Southern Secretary, sent a "Circular Letter" to all of George III's ambassadors and envoys abroad. It was concluded:

> It is His Majesty's wish the conduct of [the French]...may be seen in its true Light throughout Europe, and may be understood to be, as it really is, equally insidious, undignified, and dangerous, for it must not pass unobserved, That the French Ministers have continually, and uniformly, professed the most perfect Friendship, and most pacifist Dispositions on the Part of their Sovereign to the very moment of avowing a Treaty with H.M.'s rebellious subjects, and of making themselves the first Disturbers of the general tranquility.[73]

A myriad of peers became increasingly concerned about this apparent disintegration of the British Empire and debilitating war. They were aghast at the Government's double-dealing. In fact, the young Earl of Derby, a consistent "King's Friend," denounced his own "Ministers' happy-go-lucky readiness to go to war with new foes when they had proved themselves incapable of dealing with those they had already."[74] The following excerpt from Professor Turberville brings life to these feelings:

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[71] Cobbett, 19:914 *et seq.*

[72] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 372.

[73] "Lord Weymouth to Sir William Hamilton, K.B., Ambassador to the Court of the Two Sicilies, 20 March 1778," in Longleat Mss. (microfilm), vol. 39: reel 20, letter #26.

[74] Turberville, 380; and Cobbett, 19:1291-1293. Edward Smith-Stanley, twelfth (& 22nd) Earl of Derby (1752-1834). Known for his passions of horse-racing and cock-fighting, he "achieved immortality by instituting the great race at Epsom," known as THE DERBY. See: Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, Debrett's Great British Families (Exeter, Devon: Webb and Bower Publishers Limited, 1988), 27.

> Incapable of coping with America by herself, Ministers now invited the country to go to war with the Bourbon powers as well. This was folly, madness, desperation. Abingdon [Willoughby Bertie, fourth Earl of Abingdon] became blood-curdling [& forewarned that he] saw England reduced to a French province and the house of Stuart once more seated upon the throne.[75]

Such prophecies and predictions had long been put forward. One example recalls The Rev. John Wesley writing Lord Dartmouth on 14 June 1775, "protesting against the American war, and bidding him remember Rehoboam, Philip II, and Charles I."[76] Even earlier in the century, one of the great Bloomsbury forefathers, Lord Carteret aroused his crowds with the gifts of an erudite but evangelical preacher, characterizing war "being 'stained with the blood of Kings, and washed with the tears of Queens'."[77]

Among the Bourbon Powers, Spain watched and waited her turn to enter the war for possible spoils. On the morning of 16 June 1779, her neutrality dispersed like a cloud of smoke, when her ambassador, the Marquis D'Almodovar, presented Lord Weymouth with the Spanish Manifesto of War. The Southern Secretary went straight to inform his wearied King and Lord North that Great Britain had ceased polite relations with Spain. The next day, the Commons and Lords were mutually appalled and each House moved for the King to recall his ambassador and declare war. Weymouth led this debate and called for the peers,

> to support his Majesty in his resolution to exert all the power, and all the resources of the nation, to resist and repel any hostile attempts...to withstand and defeat the

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[75] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 372.
[76] Quoted from **Patshull House** collection in DNB, 11:860.
[77] Watson, 192. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams' poem, Pandemonium, ridiculed such war-mongering.

> unjust and dangerous enterprizes of his enemies against the honour of his crown, and the commerce, the rights and the common interests of all his subjects.[78]

In later months of 1779, France and her newest ally, Spain, attempted to invade the British motherland. "Allied seasickness and lack of cooperation saved England; her outnumbered naval 'first line of defense' had fled to safety."[79] Curiously in fact, "none of the three Combined Fleets which entered the Channel in superior force in 1779, 1781 and 1782 succeeded in covering an invasion, or indeed in achieving anything at all."[80] On 3 September 1783, after six years of weary fighting on land and sea, Great Britain made peace with these two continental powers. Although the Treaty of Versailles allowed Spain to regain her former territories of Florida in North America and Minorca in the Mediterranean, France requested no token, except the pleasure of witnessing her ancient enemy humbled by a hitherto backwater group of colonies. In truth, France had no grounds on which to bargain, for the little remembered fact that George III retained the allegiance of six of his nineteen North American colonies "as a consequence of the partial success of British sea power."[81]

As the "New Whig" Opposition increased their belligerent attacks to frustrate and bog down the war effort against the thirteen American colonies, various members of the "Bloomsbury Gang" emerged as a focused group and Lord North became ever anxious to

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[78] Cobbett, 20:876-877.
[79] Hall, Albion, and Pope, 475.
[80] N.A.M. Rodger, The Insatiable Earl: The Life of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718-1792 (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993), 328.
[81] *Ibid.* Canada, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in the North; the Bahamas and the West Indies in the South. Several of these were in fact one-time possessions of the French Crown, lost during the last war.

retire. North became increasingly "well aware that the old Bedford group had no confidence in him" as they opposed government actions and made repeated threats to withdraw from his "distressed ship."[82] In place of the usual Bloomsbury negotiator Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth emerged as the leading figure in the deliberations for North's successor, with the King's full confidence and assurance that he should choose whichever official position pleased him.

During the middle months of 1778, Lord Weymouth conducted several cursory negotiations for the best possible offer from the two main Opposition factions – under Augustus Henry FitzRoy, third Duke of Grafton, and Charles Watson Wentworth, second Marquess of Rockingham, respectively. By summer, the King's real opinions became so apparent that on 29 May 1778, Weymouth's brother-in-law, the third Duke of Portland,[83] wrote Lord Rockingham: "The treasury and great seal are to be reserved by the king, 'the first in a great measure, if not wholly, for Weymouth'."[84] Almost exactly eight months later, in a letter to Edmund Burke dated 24 January 1779, Charles James Fox[85] expounded his fury at Rockingham refusing to take part unless he was made head of the coalition, and

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[82] Watson, 225.

[83] William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, third Duke of Portland, K.G. (1738-1809). "Though his sister married Viscount Weymouth, a Bedfordite, he remained a Newcastle-Rockingham Whig and in 1782 became nominal leader of the Rockingham party." Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:162. He was friends with many of the "Bloomsbury Gang," despite political differences and marital-alliance with the Cavendish clan. His seat, **Welbeck Abbey** became the center of political caucuses for the northern aristocracy after Rockingham's untimely death. Architectural and familial history available in A.S. Turberville, A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners: 1539-1879, 2 vols. (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1938-39).

[84] "The Duke of Portland to Lord Rockingham, 29 May 1778," quoted in DNB, 19:852.

[85] Charles James Fox (1749-1806), "was a leading critic of the North Ministry and all its measures, especially its policies and actions toward the Americans." Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:340.

went on to put forward an ardent case for resuming negotiations for a coalition.[86]

Within the middle of this commotion, Robert Darcy, fourth Earl of Holderness and a former Northern Secretary of State, died leaving three vacant Garters uncontested.[87] In response to this unexpected opportunity, George III granted these honours to stabilize his relationships with ruling members of the "Bloomsbury Gang." Hence, on 17 May 1778, Lord North wrote from Bushy Park to the King recommending:

> Sire – I hope your Majesty will pardon me for suggesting that it would be pleasing to Lord Suffolk, if your Majesty would immediately appoint a Chapter for electing him and other two Knights, who were to have been elected with Lord Holdernesse, if he had lived to see four vacancies in the Order.[88]

His Majesty answered two days later from Kew Palace: "I have acquainted the Lords Suffolk and Weymouth that as soon as the former can attend on me, and is able to appear at a Chapter of the Garter, I shall confer that badge of Honour on them and on Lord Rochford."[89] From his family seat, Strawberry Hill, Horace Walpole wrote Sir Horace Mann on 16 June 1778 to announce the "bestowing [of] three vacant Garters."[90] Walmarth Sheldon Lewis, self-appointed scholar and editor of Walpole's correspondence,

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[86] "Charles James Fox to Edmund Burke, 24 January 1779," in Thomas W. Copeland, gen. ed., The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, vol. 4: July 1778-June 1782, ed. John A. Woods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 38-41.

[87] Prior to Darcy's death, George III had promised four individuals admittance to the Order of the Garter. Yet, as there were only three vacancies at the time, he had to wait for a fourth vacancy to appear. This dilemma was solved when Darcy died leaving his contention unfilled. George III could now appoint the three surviving gentlemen to the three vacancies.

[88] "Lord North to George III, 17 May 1778," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2346, 144.

[89] "George III to Lord North, 19 May 1778," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2347, 145.

[90] "Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 16 June 1778," in Walmarth Sheldon Lewis, ed., The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, vols. 21-25 & 32-33 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 24:386. (36 volumes)

provided details from W.A. Shaw's Knights of England:

> Three (Lords Rochford, Weymouth, and Suffolk) were 'elected and invested [3 June] with the ensigns of the Order' (Rochford and Weymouth at a 'Chapter...at St. James's,' and Suffolk, who was ill, at 'a private Chapter...at the Queen's Palace'); they were never installed [at Windsor].[91]

Almost nine months later, on 1 February 1779, Lord North, feeling beleaguered from every side, rose from a recent illness and informed the King:

> I am far from being convinced that our arrangement [his continuance as prime minister] will do good or indeed, that it will not do harm; I still think that without a coalition the present system must be overturn'd, and I am told that the accession of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, Mr. Fox and the Grenvilles, with Sir James Lowther's friends might be easily attained. My sincere opinion is that a large coalition would be forwarded by giving the Treasury to Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth. It is principally because I am satisfied that my continuance in ye office I hold is prejudicial to your Majesty's affairs, that I presume from time to time to suggest the expediency of a change in my department.[92]

That same evening, His Majesty responded by courier from the Queen's House:

> I cannot wish to see the Treasury in other hands other than those who now preside at that Board, but that I may not appear too obstinate, I do not object if Lord North [wants to bring forward Grafton's proposal] and empower Lord Weymouth to see what can be engrafted upon it.[93]

After answering North, George III turned his attention to Lord Weymouth and wrote:

> Lord Weymouth will by the enclosed see what has passed between me and Lord North; remember if the negociation comes to anything that the Great Seal must remain in the

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[91] Walmarth Sheldon Lewis, 24:386 n2.
[92] "Lord North to George III, 1 February 1779," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2512, 264.
[93] "George III to Lord North, 1 February 1779," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2513, 265.

> present able hands, the new head of the Treasury *must* be Lord Weymouth and the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports remain with Lord North and an addition to the Salary to make it equal to what Lord Holdernesse received.[94]

In these early days of February 1779, Viscount Weymouth, refusing to give active support to the Whiggish plotters of Lord Rockingham's camp, agreed to meet with the Duke of Grafton. He soon reported that he found no reassurances that his old debating nemesis had changed either his methods of operation or his opinions toward the Government. To make matters worse, the ruling Ministry's steadfast Grenvillite ally and Northern Secretary, the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, was forced into retirement by prolonged illness and crippling gout. Prior to his death on 7 March 1779, Lord Suffolk's followers hastened to join his designated political heir, George Grenville II of Wotton,[95] later second Earl Temple, who shifted back and forth in opposition.

Lord Weymouth now took on the duties of the Northern Department, in addition to his own. With doubled duties, he sat in an esteemed place of confidence. However, it may be noted that his opportunity to serve as First Lord of the Treasury had passed.[96] Over the subsequent months, this noble Lord continued his defense of the Ministry and indulged his competitive nature by further boondoggling his political opponents. On 11

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[94] "George III to Lord Weymouth, 1 February 1779," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2514, 265.

[95] George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, second Earl Temple, later first Marquess of Buckingham, K.G. (1753-1813). He was the eldest surviving son of Lord Suffolk's friend and mentor, George Grenville. Over the years Lord Temple served both Tories and Whigs, depending on which side served his interests. Lord Buckingham's life and papers were preserved by his grandson, Richard Plantagenet, second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G., in Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III, From Original Family Documents, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853).

[96] In order to be a successful prime minister in this period, one needed the ear of the King and a majority of members in both Houses. Though Lord Weymouth would retain the King's confidence until his own death, he was prudent to realize that the parliamentary authority of the "Bloomsbury Gang" was flawed and would soon begin to crumble.

May 1779, Weymouth began the series of Irish debates, which dealt exclusively with the distressed State of Ireland. He angered Lord Rockingham by opposing his motion for "remedial measures in Ireland" through a two-pronged argument. First, the Lords would need proper evidence that Ireland was indeed in great difficulty. Second, Weymouth explained that a repeal of laws limiting trade would have to pass through the Commons.[97]

Although numerous peers stepped forward to argue that the Irish citizenry was badly oppressed, only James Brydges, third Duke of Chandos,[98] offered a tangible solution. He suggested that a special tax should be levied against the great absentee landowners who derived immense wealth from the common people, but never spent even a shilling within Irish shores.[99] The Marquess of Rockingham voiced an opinion that "it highly behooved ministers, if they were obstinately bent to throw every part of the empire into a flame, to seriously investigate the degree of resistance they were likely to meet"

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[97] Cobbett, 20:635-642.

[98] James Brydges, third Duke of Chandos and third Marquess of Carnarvon (1731-1789). His only child, Anna Elizabeth ("Baroness Kinross" in her own right), married Richard, 2nd Marquess of Buckingham, who added Brydges-Chandos to his surname. This couple received the only dukedom "created by George IV, who is said to have conferred that dignity on [them] as a mark of personal friendship. As a matter of fact it was part of a bargain by which [2nd] Lord Liverpool secured the support of the Grenville band for the Tory party, on which occasion Lord Holland remarked that 'all articles were now to be had at low prices except Grenvilles'," in The Complete Peerage, 1 (II):408d. The dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos devolved into extinction upon the death of this first couple's grandson, Richard Plantagenet Campbell Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (third Duke) on 26 March 1889. Remaining family honours were redistributed among his eldest daughter/heiress ("Baroness Kinross"), his sister's son ("Earl Temple of Stowe"), and his nearest male-cousin, Baron Lyttelton of Frankley ("Viscount Cobham"). For those persons interested in this fascinating family, read: John V. Beckett, The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles: Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710-1921 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

[99] In order to understand the complexities of Irish land-ownership, read: W.E.H. Lecky, A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans and Green Limited, 1892). For two examples of Anglo-Irish aristocracy that adapted themselves to the ways of the Irish people, read: Charles William Fitzgerald, 4th Duke of Leinster (while Marquess of Kildare), The Earls of Kildare: 1057-1773 (Dublin: Hodges and Smith Limited, 1864); and H. Montgomery Hyde, The Londonderrys: A Family Portrait (London: Hamish Hamilton Limited, 1979).

should they refuse to lessen the current trade restrictions.[100] In a counter-argument, Earl Gower as the Lord President of the Council, begged his colleagues to "consider that perhaps the very measures which might promise to prevent a rebellion in Ireland, might prove the cause of an actual rebellion in England."[101]

In concluding these initial debates, Lord Gower moved along the lines of Lord Weymouth who felt that appropriate documentation must be obtained from the Great Officers of State in Ireland. Lord Rockingham agreed to withdraw part of his motion, in return for an address to the King that advocated free-trade between the two kingdoms.

Despite the arguments which again questioned the uncertain future of the laborers and manufacturers of Great Britain, the Lords passed this amended motion as a loyal address to George III. His Majesty agreed that whereas both Houses promised relief to his Irish subjects, he would accordingly sanction that covenant.

However, near the end of the month, on 27 May, the Marquess of Rockingham rose and disgustedly demanded an explanation of why no measures of assistance had gone forth to the King's people in Ireland. Amidst the confusion of these Irish debates, several Opposition lords insinuated unconscionable deceitfulness within the North Ministry, and then attempted to demonstrate corruption through the excessive absences of His Majesty's leading ministers. The Duke of Richmond purposely pointed to the example of Viscount Weymouth, stating amazement that "their lordships were so seldom indulged with a sight

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[100] Cobbett, 20:643.
[101] *Ibid.*, 20:647.

of the only Secretary of State who had a seat in that House."[102] Lord Chancellor Thurlow rose at length, to defend his colleague, and commented:

> It was extremely unfair to censure any noble lord for his absence, particularly the noble viscount, who had been alluded to, who was immersed in business of a kind extremely pressing and important [acting with the ministers of war and communicating orders to the king's generals involved in the Colonial Rebellion]. His lordship, it was well known, was particularly anxious and attentive to the duties of his office[s], and no less punctual in his attendance on that House whenever matters of real consequence were to be agitated there.[103]

Both Lords Thurlow and Gower requested that members of the Lords' Chamber return to the dominant issue of Ireland and forego the political bantering with their opponents for the time-being. Notwithstanding, almost a fortnight later, on 2 June, the second Earl of Shelburne remonstrated against the King's ministers for inaction towards the relief of Ireland. Viscount Weymouth appeared increasing agitated as the Earl and others censured and defamed the Government's ministers as flunkies who no longer knew how to carry out their master's errands.[104]

Lord Weymouth assured his chamber's proud members that, as he had written His Majesty's Lord Lieutenant[105] at some considerable time in the past, he hoped to soon receive official papers and place them before their noble lordships. After much discussion on whether to wait for official reports to arrive or to push forward repealing the restrictive

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[102] Cobbett, 20:654.
[103] *Ibid.* Weymouth was indeed consumed with affairs of state as the only Secretary in 1779, from the death of Lord Suffolk in early March until the appointment of Viscount Stormont in late October.
[104] Cobbett, 20:663-669.
[105] John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1776 to 1780.

laws, the House divided and the non-contents (in favor of restraint instead of repeal) carried the contents, 61 to 32. Not surprisingly, the Irish issue remained tabled until 1 December 1779, when Lord Shelburne placed a "Motion of Censure against Ministers for their Conduct towards Ireland." Having resigned their respective offices, five days previously, Weymouth and Gower escaped censorship from their peers, but missed the end of these debates, which turned in their favor: 82 votes to 37.[106]

Interestingly, most members of the aristocracy had some connection to Ireland, through land received by crown-grants, inheritance or marriage. Viscount Weymouth inherited a 22,000-acre Irish estate in County Monaghan.[107] And in his turn, the Duke of Devonshire came to possess "a vast tract of land in southern Ireland, crowned by King John's impressive castle at Lismore in County Waterford."[108] Two of the third Duke of Richmond's sisters married Irishmen, who supposedly were the greatest peer and the wealthiest commoner in Ireland, respectively.[109] Although these men and their fellow peers spoke out against absentee landlords, which several of them were, they seldom took

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[106] Cobbett, 20:1156-1157 and 1157-69, 1178.

[107] This inheritance passed into the Thynne family through the marriage of Lady Frances Finch, daughter of Heneage Finch (2nd Earl of Winchilsea), to Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth, in 1672.

[108] William Cavendish, fifth Duke of Devonshire, K.G. (1748-1811). Through his mother (Lady Charlotte Boyle), he inherited estates in Yorkshire and Ireland as well as **Burlington House** in Piccadilly (London) & **Chiswick House** on the Thames, from his grandfather, the 4th Earl of Cork and 3rd Earl of Burlington. Quote and information on Boyle family taken from: John Pearson, Stags and Serpents: The Story of the House of Cavendish and the Dukes of Devonshire (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1983), 69-71.

[109] Reese, 41-44 (portraits on page 43). In 1747, Lady Emily Lennox married James Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare, later first Duke of Leinster, "Ireland's only duke and premier peer." In 1758 Lady Louisa Lennox married Thomas Conolly of Castletown in County Kildare, "a commoner with a large estate and ∫27,000 a year with which to maintain it." **Castletown** is now headquarters to the Irish Georgian Society. These relationships allowed Thomas Conolly to move from successful businessman to astute politician and treatise writer – Constitutional Connection between Great Britain & Ireland (London: J.Stockdale, 1790).

serious actions for their tenants.[110] The Duke of Chandos's suggestion would have immensely helped the tenant farmers, but most aristocrats had little time or extra money to devote to their estates or "subjects" in Ireland. Only the descendants of those who survived the famine, pestilence, and bloody riots of the next hundred years, witnessed the overhaul of the antiquated Irish land system in a more positive manner in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By late autumn 1779, Lord Weymouth and his best friend, Lord Gower, had tired of keeping Lord North afloat and agreed to resign together. On hearing of their intended resignation, George III endeavored without success to persuade them to soldier on for a few years. In a letter to Weymouth, dated 5 November 1779, the King implored:

> I owe it to my own feelings as well as to the public, to try and persuade Lord Weymouth not to fly from Public business at an hour of difficulty, and at a time when the most desparate Opposition that ever stood forth is using every means to force itself into power, and is willing to betray every National object.[111]

In addition to their personal concerns, Lords Weymouth and Gower cited Lord North's mismanagement of the colonial rebellion as a dominant reason for their resignations. North even went so far as to agree with them in his correspondence with the King who had forced him to remain.

Upon their joint-resignation on 25 November, these two prominent peers broke

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[110] See: George A.T. O'Brien, The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century (Dublin: Maunsel and Company Limited, 1918). This work shows whenever a proposal was made to subject the rents of absentees to a tax, it was defeated by the pressure of the great absentee owners, such as Devonshire, Rockingham, Bessborough, and Upper Ossory.

[111] "George III to Weymouth, 5 November 1779," in Fortescue, vol. 4: no. 2820, 473.

with their designated leader which many took "to be part of a Bedford scheme to upset North and bring the Bedford group into undisputed control of the ministry."[112] In a letter to Anne, Countess of Upper Ossory, earlier in the year, Walpole mentioned Weymouth and lamented: "Oh! That it should be possible to be insolent on the strength of majorities, and when the tide turns, to crouch to those one has insulted, and beseech them to accept of treachery to one's friends as an atonement!"[113] From the other side of this equation, historian B. W. Hill asserted:

> Most of the former 'Bedfords' decided to pull out, headed by Gower, avowing 'a want of activity, decision, or subordination in every department' and in the Cabinet such things 'that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there'. The loyal workhorses, Bathurst and Hillsborough, were brought back as Lord President and [Southern] Secretary respectively to replace Gower and Weymouth, who followed his friend out.[114]

Therefore, the "King's Friends-Bloomsbury Gang" coalition came to an end, causing political schisms which further weakened Lord North's Ministry. Months before, in a bold gesture to retain favor and consideration from the Gower-Weymouth faction, Lord North had appointed the fifth Earl of Carlisle[115] (Gower's son-in-law) as President of the Board of Trade, and reduced the authority of their mutual nemesis, Lord George

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[112] Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:861.

[113] "Horace Walpole to Lady Upper Ossary," in Lewis, 33:94-96. The reader should remember that this Countess was the Duke of Grafton's scandalous ex-wife, as well as Walpole's confidant.

[114] Hill, 134-135.

[115] Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, K.G. (1748-1825). After eleven months in this post, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he "gained...insight into the true condition of Irish affairs, and won the respect of the Irish people." Through friends among the Cavendish clan and mentors, like Richmond and Rockingham, this impressionable earl became a devoted "New Whig" after the Coalition of 1783, despite earlier allegiances with the "Bloomsbury Gang." In his book, The Abbey of Kilkhampton (London: Printed for G. Kearsly, 1780), Sir Herbert Croft referred (41) to him as "a good man in private life, and a capable speaker, but vain and extravagant," quoted Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, 1 (III):36-37.

Germain who was becoming more and more of a liability. With George III's approval, he informed the recalcitrant Secretary of State for the American Colonies:

> Lord George – I believe that Lord Gower has it at heart to introduce Lord Carlisle into public business, and no way of doing it occurs to me so proper and convenient as the separation of the Board of Trade from the American Seals, and the appointment of Lord Carlisle to be first Commissioner of Trade.[116]

For the next two and a half years, Lord North trudged along attempting to keep his Ministry in a viable state. Interestingly enough, all of his Cabinet members, with the exception of Lord Dartmouth, espoused the conservative ("Tory") principles brought back into existence through the "Bloomsbury" leaders – that faithful triumvirate of Lords Gower, Suffolk, and Weymouth. Therefore, historians must question why its continuing members tarried within the weakened North Ministry. Men like Germain, Jenkinson, and Hillsborough remained ardent "King's Friends," while Dartmouth felt committed through family duty to stand by his step-brother. The new ministers, Lords Carlisle, Bathurst, and Stormont[117] sought to strengthen their own patronage connections, but provided little stability as they lacked experience, prudence, and effectiveness, respectively. However, the three most conspicuous were the Lord Chancellor, Attorney-General, and First Lord of the Admiralty, all of whom enjoyed the combined arts of corruption and bureaucracy.[118]

As commoners who had achieved the highest judicial positions in the realm, the

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[116] Valentine, Lord North, 2:126. When Lord Carlisle left for Ireland, Lord Grantham succeeded him as the second Commissioner of Trade on 9 December 1780.

[117] David Murray, seventh Viscount Stormont, succeeded his uncle as the second Earl of Mansfield (1727-1796). He sat in the House of Lords as one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.

[118] These three men served as follows: Baron Thurlow as Lord Chancellor, Baron Loughborough as Attorney-General, and the Earl of Sandwich as First Lord of the Admiralty.

lawyer Barons Thurlow and Loughborough declined to leave their offices without further securities, perhaps even a change in status.[119] Nevertheless, for the keen observer as well as his long-time allies, the unaccountable actions of the fourth Earl of Sandwich who was serving as First Lord of the Admiralty for a third occasion, proved most puzzling. The often critical Horace Walpole thought-provokingly recorded in his Memoirs:

> The Admiralty, in which he...presided with credit, was the favorite object of Lord Sandwich's ambition; and his passion for maritime affairs, his activity, industry, and flowing complaisance, endeared him to the profession, re-established the marine, and effaced great part of his unpopularity. No man in the Administration was so much master of business, so quick or so shrewd, and no man had so many public enemies who had so few private; for though void of principles, he was void of rancour, and bore with equal good-humour the freedom with which his friends attacked him, and the satire of his opponents.[120]

Establishing himself as Lord North's longest serving minister, the Earl of Sandwich voiced his unswerving loyalty to George III, despite personal and political relationships with the deceased fourth Duke of Bedford, and the retired Lords Gower and Weymouth.

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[119] A large professional elite emerged, especially in the second half of the eighteenth-century, as they completed specific tasks for the nation's rulers, but were handsomely rewarded. The rise of men like Thurlow, Camden, and Loughborough demonstrated a new era was dawning for the British peerage system, as seen in Daniel Duman, The Judicial Bench in England, 1727-1875: The Reshaping of a Professional Elite (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982).

[120] Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, 5 (XI):435-437. In The Insatiable Earl (page xiv), Rodger described Lord Sandwich: "Wit, rake, poet and musician, he was also a man whose private life was wounded by tragedy. He suffered the madness of his wife and the murder of his mistress, the deaths in turn of four sons, both daughters-in-law and all but one of his grandchildren." The earl's thirty-eight years of Admiralty service supplied him with adequate distractions from his tragic, and often dysfunctional, family-life – both as a youth and an adult. Thorough accounting of Sandwich's Admiralty exists in Jeremy Black and Philip Woodfine, eds., The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989). One should also acknowledge the well-crafted story of his active life during the height of the "Bloomsbury" Gang's reign as central court-players for three decades, in G.R. Barnes and J.H. Owen, eds., The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, 1771-1782, 4 vols. (London: John Murray, 1932-1938).

John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich
From a portrait by Thomas Gainsborough

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Indeed, after the devastating news of General Cornwallis's Yorktown surrender,[121] this calculating nobleman conspired with the seventh Viscount Stormont to create some stability and to manage the support of his colleagues and their patronage connections, as confidence in Lord North began to wane. A man without a following, the prime minister soon realized how much he had relied upon astute parliamentarians from the "Bloomsbury Gang." Lords Gower and Weymouth had often turned critical debates in favor of the Crown and its prevalent Ministry. Lord North, "an unhappy victim of royal will and Cabinet disloyalty, had worse ordeals to come, in a strangely changing world."[122]

Even as the "Bloomsbury" leaders were retiring from the political scene, moderate reformers and liberal aristocrats were advocating greater limitations on the monarchy and change in specific laws pertaining to court bureaucrats and professionals without land. As with the vast majority of aristocrats, these liberal advocates never really contemplated allowing the ordinary working-class citizens to vote. During the late 1770s and early 1780s, at least forty Corresponding Committees were appointed in the major towns and progressive counties "to carry on a Correspondence to Restore the Freedom of Parliament." On 25 March 1780, Thomas Day delivered a speech at Cambridge, on the necessity of parliamentary reform. In concluding, he urged:

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[121] This surrender effectively ended the British war effort in the American South, and eventually brought peace. As for General Lord Charles Cornwallis, second Earl Cornwallis, later first Marquess Cornwallis, K.G. (1738-1805), "after a few years of relative inactivity, he began a second military career in India as Viceroy and commanding officer, 1786-1793; in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, 1798-1801; and finally in India again in 1805, where he died soon after his arrival." Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:207. As seen in Appendices, the Cornwallis family was composed of eminent generals, admirals, and bishops. Lord Cornwallis was a devout "King's Friend," though a "liberal Tory." For more perspective on this man and his intriguing adventures, one might read: Charles Derek Ross, ed., Correspondence of Charles, First Marquess Cornwallis, 3 vols. (London: John Murray (Albemarle Street), 1859).

> After a calm of the longest duration, the spirit of the people is at length excited, and I see a storm gathering, which may be fatal to its enemies. It is yours, ye free and independent citizens, ye uncorrupted remains of a wise and valiant people, to direct this tide of national zeal...and [become] THE RESTORERS OF PUBLIC LIBERTY.[123]

Over the next two years, His Britannic Majesty grew increasingly disgusted as he witnessed mealy-mouthed court sycophants and obnoxious enemies of his prerogative form unholy alliances for their gain at the expense of the State. Then, as if the Whig rantings were not loud enough, on 11 February 1782, in the most controversial action of his reign, George III recognized the loyal and conscientious support of Lord George Germain with a peerage. Ignoring the indignant pleadings of his allies, the King ascribed patents for Germain as Baron Bolebrooke and Viscount Sackville of Drayton.[124] "Lord Derby regarded as an insult the giving of a peerage to a man 'whose disgrace was entered in the orderly room of every British regiment'."[125] Peers of every conviction stood forth to denounce the new Lord Sackville being enrolled among the honorable membership of

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[122] Feiling, The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832, 133.

[123] Thomas Day, The Speech of Thomas Day, Esq. On The Necessity of A Reform In Parliament, Delivered At Cambridge, 25 March 1780; When His Grace the Duke of Portland...and Others, Were appointed a Committee To Carry On A Correspondence To Restore The Freedom of Parliament (London: Printed for D.I. Eaton, 1794). Sixteen-page pamphlet in Rare-book room at Alderman Library, UVA. The mentioned Committee was composed primarily of the Dukes of Portland, Richmond, Manchester, and Rutland; the Earl Spencer; Lords Bessborough and Duncannon; as well as Lord Robert Manners, Hon. William Pitt (the Younger), Sir Robert Bernard, Sir Gillis Payne, Thomas Day and John Wilkes.

[124] Historical legend claims that Germain requested the King to create him a Viscount, since, if he were made a Baron, he would be lower in rank than his own secretary, Lord Walsingham, his lawyer, Lord Loughborough, and his father's page, Lord Amherst.

[125] Turberville, The House of Lords in the XVIIIth Century, 24. Sometimes known as the "Coward of Minden," Lord George had been court-martialed for conduct unbecoming an officer after disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick during the Battle of Minden on 1 August 1759. For more of this episode, read: Sir John Fortescue, A History of the British Army, 13 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1910-1930; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976), 2:505.

the Upper House, but in the end, the Government's ministers carried the day with a vote of 93 to 28 allowing the lord in question to take his seat.[126]

Six weeks later, after twelve long years of dedicated service, a baffled Lord North announced his resignation and the end of his ministry on 20 March 1782, "amid scenes of uproar" in the House of Commons.[127] One biographer wrote: "In the often unedifying world of eighteenth-century politics, North shone as a beacon of decency, conscientiousness and competence; and when the time came for his departure, he left with dignity and humor."[128] On embarking from the Westminster chambers, after the Commons dismissed early, he was one of the only members with a coach nearby, and light-heartedly called to his old adversaries: "Goodnight, gentlemen, it is the first time I have known the advantage of being in the secret."[129] In their audience to discuss this matter, the devastated King passionately reminded Lord North: "Remember, my lord, that it is you who desert *me*, not I *you*."[130]

In the following weeks, George III frantically searched his old allies (Weymouth, Gower, and Grafton) for the foundation of a new government, but not one felt he had the necessary following to be effective. With exhausted hopes, the King "was obliged to bow to a set of demands" not the least of which forced him to grant "permission to Rockingham to form a Government which would exclude '*obnoxious Ministers*' and

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[126] For the two series of debates regarding the King's prerogative to raise such a peer and Lord Sackville's right to take his seat, see Cobbett, 22:999-1006 and 1006-1023.
[127] John Ehrman, The Younger Pitt: The Years of Acclaim, Volume I (New York: E.P.Dutton, 1969), 78.
[128] Whiteley, 228.
[129] William Douglas Home, ed., The Prime Ministers: Stories and Anecdotes from Number 10 (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 63.
[130] Hellicar, 30.

others held to be creatures of the King himself."[131] Lord Rockingham insisted on this after being warned by the Duke of Richmond not to be used by the King, "for his servants are the merest servants that ever were."[132] In juxtaposition to the Tory Court-coalition, W.M. Elofson asserted that the "New Whigs" were not "aggressive competitors in national affairs" but a "nonprofessional and phlegmatic" pack of "personal friends, relatives, and other associates, most of whose interests were one way or another linked with their own in the counties."[133]

During this "repulsive trespass" of the long-opposing Rockinghamites, the pensive King withdrew in silence, but surrounded himself with faithful supporters awaiting a better day.[134] This ill-fated Ministry lasted barely three months with the second Earl of Shelburne[135] assuming office upon Lord Rockingham's sudden death from influenza on 20 July 1782.[136] While this administration refused subservience to both the King and the Whigs alike, its leader announced "firm adherence to 'all those constitutional ideas which for seventeen years he had imbibed from his master in politics, the late Earl of

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[131] Ehrman, Pitt: The Years of Acclaim, 78-79.
[132] Buckingham and Chandos, 1:23.
[133] Elofson, 13-14.
[134] George III was panicked by what had come to pass. Harkening back to those vicious early days of the 1760s, he recalled with horror that "the Rockingham and Fox Cabinets represented a mutual admiration society of certain great families who thought of the king as an outsider and of themselves as his constitutional advisers rather than his servants." Quoted in Pares, 167.
[135] Fitzmaurice, Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, The First Baron, ed., The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne, 3 vols. (London: Macmillan and Company, 1875), 2:87-92. With his pledge to serve Whig interests under Lord Rockingham ended, Lord Shelburne accepted power as first-minister.
[136] This lord was the patron/friend of Burke, who composed the inscription on his monument in the park of **Wentworth-Woodhouse**, which relates that he was: "A man worthy to be held in remembrance, b/c he did not live for himself....He far exceeded all other statesmen in the art of drawing together, without the seduction of self-interest, the concurrence and cooperation of various dispositions and abilities of men, whom he assimilated to his character and associated in his labours." Albemarle, Memoirs, 2:486.

Chatham'."[137] "In spite of his merits, '*the Jesuit of Berkeley Square*,' as he was called, was more detested than any politician of his time."[138] Allied by both marriages to the "Bloomsburys" and by principle to the political descendants of the "Old Whigs," Lord Shelburne found an agreeable "home" with neither group. Consequently, by April 1783 Lord North and Charles James Fox had joined forces in a coalition, and His Majesty's first minister begged leave to resign in light of the ensuing political battle between the Crown and its adversaries.

The Shelburne Ministry's only real accomplishment was peace. Several months prior to His Majesty's meticulous concession speech from the throne, "England [had been] losing heart rather than losing battles, and her lack of determination was to be the chief factor in the final stages of the American war."[139] Sir Philip Magnus, a biographer of Edmund Burke, wrote that "America was irrevocably lost" when the British Government recognized the United States as a sovereign entity on 27 September 1782.[140] As the war was brought to an end, the new ministers who had worked to replace the shattered North Ministry soon began to fight among themselves. Furthermore, at the State Opening of Parliament on 5 December 1782, George III explicitly recognized the new American nation, and sadly stated: "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes

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[137] Quoted in "William Petty, first Marquess of Lansdowne," DNB, 15:1009.
[138] Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, 3 (VII):437-438. The Earl of Shelburne's services were rewarded with a Marquessate on 6 December 1784, even though he continuously refused further offices and spent the rest of his life "retired from public affairs" at his country seat, **Bowood Park**, near Calne, Wiltshire. While a renowned gentleman and a far-sighted administrator who could have replaced North in the King's affections, this lord was not a politician capable of maneuvering the pitfalls & hornet-nests of the emerging party-system.
[139] Watson, 213.
[140] Magnus, 118.

and opinion of my people."[141]

In a retrospective look, that great Whig historian, George Macaulay Trevelyan reflected: "From the day of Lord North's resignation in March 1782, Britain has never been governed save by a Prime Minister and Cabinet responsible not to the King alone but first and foremost to the independent judgment of the House of Commons."[142] Even from a more conservative view, Ivor Bulmer-Thomas observed:

> The Cabinet belonged, as Fox put it, partly to the King and partly to the Country, but though neither the King nor Fox realized it at the time, the era of personal rule was over. Though the Sovereign retained many real powers for a long time to come, the way to full party government was open.[143]

Though most leaders in the 1780s would have never admitted it, the re-emergence of an effective "Tory" force had come full-circle and its members were to claim dominance as the governing political party for the next half-century to come, thanks in large part to the leaders of the "Bloomsbury Gang."

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[141] Cobbett, 23:207.
[142] G.M. Trevelyan, History of England (London: Longmans, Green and Company Limited, 1926), 556.
[143] Bulmer-Thomas, 38.

V

Conclusion: The Triumphal March of Conservatism

In one of the most decisive moves of his reign, George III dismissed the Portland Ministry, known to posterity as the Fox-North Coalition,[1] on 19 December 1783, and asked twenty-four-year-old William Pitt "the Younger"[2] to found a steady Government devoted to the principles of the Crown and its supporters.[3] Historian Derek Jarrett wrote that this administration was "begotten,"

> of a conspiracy in the House of Lords and made up almost entirely of members of that House – Pitt himself was the only member of the Cabinet who sat in the Commons.[4]

In addition, a majority of the retired "King's Friends-Bloomsbury Gang" coalition surrounded His Majesty as the oracles of Court wisdom in Royal Household positions. [5]

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[1] To learn more about this Coalition, read: John Cannon, The Fox-North Coalition: Crisis of the Constitution, 1782-4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[2] William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806) "connived with the king, Thurlow, and Temple to bring about the sudden fall of the coalition and was ready to replace it with a ministry under his own leadership...just before Christmas 1783." Valentine, The British Establishment, 2:707.

[3] Through this one dramatic event, "[King] George got rid of the ministers whom he hated, he gained a minister who as long as he lived proved himself able to preserve him from again falling into the hands of the Whigs, and he found himself more popular than he had been since his accession." Quoted from "George III," in DNB, 7:1064.

[4] Derek Jarrett, Pitt The Younger (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 68-69.

[5] While summarizing the legacy of the "Bloomsbury Gang," one must also look to the political dynasty that ran alongside the carriage of reaction and then upon arrival strode with gang members toward a formidable destination (destiny). On historian espoused: "The Pitt family is undoubtedly the most distinguished in the political annals of England. Modest in origin and little aided by wealth or connection, it gave the country two Prime Ministers of its own name; it nominated two more, the hereditary chiefs of the houses of Cavendish and Fitzroy; it introduced to power a third pair, its relations the Grenvilles; and it left as a legacy behind it the lesser luminaries of Addington, Jenkinson and Robinson. For two generations it dominated the fortunes of England. It doubled the House of Lords and controlled half the House of Commons. Its policy acquired much of the British Empire and withstood the assaults of her fiercest foes. It initiated parliamentary reform, religious toleration and modern finance. Under it the Tories rose to their highest pitch and maintained their longest lease of power. Before it the Whigs sank into oblivion for sixty years." Bigham, 74.

Recovered from their initial shock, these men had been advocating a change since Lord North deserted his king and followers for the folly of political alliance with Charles James Fox and the third Duke of Portland.[6]

In a position reminiscent of the time he plotted against the Duke of Grafton in December 1769, but "unwilling to move against the Coalition without first finding a successor to it, George [III] opened indirect, secret negotiations with William Pitt in the course of which Pitt agreed to form an administration if in turn the king would publicize his royal sentiments...."[7] In pondering the various opinions expressed over the King's intervention in defense of prerogative, historian M.M. Reese wrote: "It has been argued that, although he might seem to have been straining his rights, George was not acting unconstitutionally when in 1783 he let it be known [through Lord Temple] that any member of the Lords who supported Charles Fox's India Bill would incur his personal disfavor."[8] Within hours of this infamous Bill's defeat, on the evening of 18 December 1783, Great Britain's indefatigable monarch dispatched letters dismissing the Coalition leaders without even an audience, and inviting Pitt to "kiss hands" as the new prime minister the next morning.

As the King's "first-confidant," William Pitt's task must have seemed daunting as a

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[6] His Grace of Portland "was steady in adversity, a conscientiously responsible aristocrat, and a good administrator." In July 1794, though a Whig by principle and heritage, he led his followers to join the Younger Pitt's Ministry and even went on to serve as First Lord of the Treasury (with Tory supporters) from 25 March 1807 until his death in 1809. Valentine, The British Establishment, 1:163. His life and views are represented in David Frederick Ross, William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Third Duke of Portland: The Years of Opposition, 1738-1794 (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1980).

[7] Michael W. McCahill, Order and Equipoise: The Peerage and the House of Lords, 1783-1806 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 25-26.

[8] Reese, 92. This matter has been discussed further in Pares, 131-133.

majority of the Upper Chamber's talented peers and career politicians feigned illness, announced retirement, and defected to the Opposition. Despite this mass exodus, the young minister remained methodically calm, and

> in the end...scraped together seven colleagues who would agree to form a ministry with him; but as well as being peers they were also for the most part either Tories, whom his father would have viewed with suspicion, or nonentities, whom his father would have viewed with contempt.[9]

At first near despair after crushing rejections from Grafton, Cornwallis, and Sackville, the administration received a needed boost of confidence when the Earl Gower announced he would return from retirement. This former "Bloomsbury" leader told the Right Honorable George Rose, that he thought,

> Mr. Pitt was the only man who could extricate the country from its perilous situation; and he would therefore take office, if it should be thought his doing so would give strength to a Government to be formed; or he would give his best support to it without taking office,—much preferring the latter, for his own convenience.[10]

As one of the longest serving prime ministers, Pitt the Younger came to power in

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[9] Jarrett, 71. Pitt's first ministry was composed, as follows: William Pitt II as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Marquess of Carmarthen and Baron Sydney as the two Secretaries of State; Earl Gower as Lord President of the Council; the Duke of Rutland as Lord Privy Seal; Earl Howe as First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond as Master-General of the Ordnance; and Baron Thurlow as Lord Chancellor.

[10] The Rev. Leveson Vernon Harcourt, ed., The Diaries and Correspondence of the Right Hon. George Rose: Containing Original Letters of the Most Distinguished Statesmen of His Day, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley (New Burlington Street), 1861), 1:50. Also see A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837; With an Epilogue on Aristocracy and the Advent of Democracy, 1837-1867 (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1958), 56-57. The latter wrote: "Earl Gower, the influential member of the old Bloomsbury gang, was prepared to serve. [He] had great properties and considerable influence of his own....He now became President of the Council. In the following November he exchanged that office for the position of Lord Privy Seal, and in 1786 Pitt recognized his value by promoting him to the marquisate of Stafford."

the tradition of the "King's Friends" and remained so until the end of his career.[11] Historians view him as a colossal figure who ruled Great Britain with an administrative genius that maintained a constant but wavering balance of power around him. With paternalistic advice from the third Duke of Richmond[12] on one side, and a clear acceptance of opinions put forward by the second Earl Gower[13] on the other, this young minister unofficially took up the "Bloomsbury" banner as a "Conservative Whig." To be concise, Pitt "stood above party, relying on his own achievements and the great shadow of Chatham," while most of his friends were Tories in all but name.[14] To understand the individual designations of the most prominent peers in the early 1780s, the Reverend A.B. Beaven wrote an article, entitled "Politics of Peers," which explained:

> Many of North's colleagues and adherents, as Carlisle, Loughborough, Eden, Stormont, Sandwich, &c., followed their leader into the disastrous Coalition of 1783, and

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[11] Summarizing Pitt's life in power is to provide an analysis of all save the years of his early life and the several months of self-exile when he was being principled about Roman Catholicism. Unlike other former Prime Ministers, Pitt refused to go into Opposition – instead withdrawing in silence! In this one conflict, the King held tight to "the sacred and inviolable nature of his Coronation Oath, and he believed that for him to sign any act which emancipated Catholics from their disabilities would lead to the forfeiture of the Crown" – believing the House of Savoy must then succeed (Plumb, 145).

[12] His Grace of Richmond was known for his "ingenuity and his almost paternal encouragement in times of crisis." The duke was also "the only member of Pitt's cabinet to be interested in [his] most important proposals for reform – Parliament, the slave trade, and Irish commercial restrictions." Unfortunately, after initial inclusion at daily policy meetings from 1784-1791, this noble lord possessed such a severe temper and state of moodiness that he was often excluded because of the hostile quarrels he instigated with colleagues. Alison Gilbert Olson, The Radical Duke, chapter 6:76-101.

[13] Lord Gower "stood high in the estimation of his contemporaries for his undoubted ability and for the uprightness of his conduct both in public and in private life." Much of this man's character and ability was explored in the initial chapters of a book about his son, written by Castalia Campbell Leveson-Gower, Countess Granville, ed., Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (First Earl Granville): Private Correspondence, 1781-1821, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1916), 1:xxi-xxviii. Exciting anecdotes and information about the Leveson-Gower dynasty may be found in J.R. Wordie, Estate Management in Eighteenth-Century England: The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982); and Eric Richards, The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1973).

[14] Jarrett, 9.

> continued afterwards to act, some for a time only and some permanently, with the Whig opposition to Pitt's ministry, whilst leading Whigs, as Camden, Gower, Carmarthen, Thomas Townshend, Wilkes, &c., gave their support to Pitt, most of them ultimately becoming indistinguishable from Tories, though they did not adopt the name.[15]

Regardless of these dominant allies, William Pitt's power came from two sources: the King and his own insatiable desire to succeed. The first is much easier to explain. After Lord North's retirement in March 1782 over the imminent loss of the American colonies, three separate ministries were formed, but all died within a few months of each other. The King recognized ability in the Younger Pitt and elevated him to the highest possible position as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Extraordinarily cautious with the royal prerogatives, George III maintained a wary distance at first, and often suggested during their initial audiences that the King was always free to appoint or remove at whim. However, once a mutual respect was reached, His Majesty was wise enough to allow Pitt to develop a resilient support network in the Commons and the Lords.

Though he would not acknowledge the existence of a party structure, Pitt the Younger revived the traditions and continued the ideologies of the King's old Tory-Court coalition. Between 1784 and 1806, his followers promoted "a self-consciously 'Tory' and

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[15] The Reverend A.B. Beaven, "Politics of Peers," in Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, vol. 1: appendix I, 409-502. It should be noted that all of those referred to as leading Whigs were among the "Conservative Whig" faction, as contrasted with members of the "New Whig" faction who opposed Pitt's Ministry until 1794. Although in general concurrence with this list, I disagree with two points. First, Lord Sandwich was not only an avowed Tory, but also a political recluse who seldom spoke in the House of Lords after his retirement in 1782. Second, John Wilkes was never a peer of the realm with a seat in the Upper Chamber – though he did become a self-proclaimed "Conservative Whig" in the 1780s.

Anglican establishment, dedicated to the preservation of the British constitution and the conservation of British institutions, [that] had appropriated the language and culture of patriotism in its service and utilised the enormous new power of monarchical sentiment in its support."[16] This special assemblage recognized the influence of old "Bloomsbury" cronies like Lords Gower and Thurlow, and new peers like Viscount Sydney[17] and the Marquess of Carmarthen.[18] As time passed, he cultivated the support of Henry Dundas[19] and William Wyndham Grenville,[20] as well as personally sponsored rising young men like Henry Addington,[21] George Canning,[22] Spencer Perceval,[23] the Hon. Frederick John Robinson,[24] and Viscount Castlereagh,[25] to uphold his political legacy.

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[16] Frank O'Gorman, "Pitt and the 'Tory' Reaction to the French Revolution, 1789-1815," in Britain and the French Revolution, 1789-1815, ed. by Harry T. Dickinson (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Macmillan Education Limited, 1989), 27. Therefore, ***conservatism*** brought national unity through: "the cultivation of patriotic sentiment, the defence of prerogative, the repression of radical dissent, the curtailment of the freedom of the press, and the defense of Anglicanism."

[17] The Right Honorable Thomas Townshend, first Baron Sydney, later first Viscount Sydney (1733-1800).

[18] Francis Godolphin Osborne, styled Marquess of Carmarthen but called up as Baron Osborne of Kiveton in right of his father's barony, later fifth Duke of Leeds, K.G. (1751-1799). Foreign Secretary, 1783—91.

[19] Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville of Edinburgh and Baron Dunira (1742-1811). Through industry and influence, he was "for nearly 30 years the most powerful man in Scotland."

[20] William Wyndham Grenville, first Baron Grenville of Buckinghamshire (1759-1834). He led the "Ministry of All the Talents," 1806-1807, as well as the Lords' Chamber for Pitt the Younger after 1790.

[21] Henry Addington, first Viscount Sidmouth (1757-1844). MP 1784-1805; Speaker of House 1789-1801; Prime Minister 1801-1804; Home Secretary 1812-1822. He replaced Pitt over Catholic Emancipation, but was later reconciled when this friend and mentor returned to power. First to use appellation: "TORY."

[22] George Canning (1770-1827), MP 1794—1827, Prime Minister and Chancellor of Exchequer in 1827.

[23] Spencer Perceval (1762-1812). Gifted writer & lawyer; MP 1796-1812; Prime Minister 1809-1812.

[24] The Honourable Frederick John Robinson,created Viscount Goderich, and later first Earl of Ripon (1782-1859); Prime Minister 1827-1828.

[25] Robert Henry Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, second Marquess of Londonderry, K.G. (1769-1822). This Foreign Secretary (1812-1822) was a hard-worker who "proved to be a fine diplomat in creating the European coalition which finally won the Napoleanic wars, but he was painfully shy in public gatherings, lacked the skills of an orator, and was not a good team leader." Suffering from a series of depressions, he later committed suicide. Lord Castlereagh is best remembered for his role at the Congress of Vienna and the Peace of Paris through an exhibit at his family home, **Mount Stewart House** in Northern Ireland. As the chronicler and biographer of the Londonderry family, H. Montgomery Hyde wrote The Rise of Lord Castlereagh (1933) and The Strange Death of Lord Castlereagh (1959).

Amazingly, in an effort to down-size the costs of government, William Pitt pushed through many fiscal reforms which steadily reduced crown patronage and the size of the pro-government group. Establishing himself as "a sound and practical financier, he abolished eighty-five sinecures, among other economies, and saved the Exchequer accordingly."[26] George III's power-structure, ranging from two-hundred to two-hundred-forty seats through Crown lands and sinecures in the 1770s, was reduced by the time of Pitt's resignation in 1801 to around one-hundred of the six-hundred-fifty-eight seats after the Irish Union – through ministerial compromises of the Crown's prerogatives with liberal reformers.[27] However, the "party of the Crown" maintained its authority through prestigious peerage creations, as shown by historian A.S. Turberville, who reported:

> The great increase in the number of peerages was certainly in some measure due to the Whig Economical Reform Act of 1782, which deprived the crown of many of its erstwhile opportunities of rewarding political services by sinecures and pensions, and Burke himself remarked in later life that he was therefore in part responsible for the swelling of the numbers of the House of Lords.[28]

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[26] Bigham, 97.

[27] The Court/Treasury party continued to diminish, so that the Crown held patronage over only 20-30 seats at Queen Victoria's accession. To learn more about these reforms and their repercussions, read: A.S. Foord, "The Waning of the Influence of the Crown," in English Historical Review, 62 (1957):495-497; D. Large, "The Decline of the 'Party of the Crown' and the Rise of Parties in the House of Lords, 1783-1837," in English Historical Review 68 (1963):669-695; The Rt. Hon. George Rose, Observations Respecting the Public Expenditure and the Influence of the Crown, (London: T. Cadell and W. David, 1810); and Sydney Charles Buxton, 1st Earl Buxton, Finance and Politics: An Historical Study, 1783-1885, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1888).

[28] Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837, 43. For a thorough study of the increasing peerage, read "Chapter III: Pitt's Peers," 42-54 and "Chapter IV: Pitt and the House of Lords," 55-80. In this exploration, ask: Who were the men who were receiving peerages? What had they done? From what family and social background did they come? Did they represent the infusion of new blood into the peerage? Were there any general grounds or policies on which peerages were distributed, or were they the result of mere whim? Did different Prime Ministers or parties differ in the policies which they followed?

As Mr. Pitt and the King came to rely on each other, they put forth their exorbitant plan to raise and create a plethora of peers in recognition of their services, past and present, in lieu of lucrative sinecures.[29] The type of men who were receiving Pitt's copious honours have been clearly defined as Scottish/Irish nobles seeking British titles; Country Gentlemen with immense wealth and diverse connexions; members of cadet branches of noble families; and distinguished leaders who rendered service to the state as admirals, generals, or diplomats.[30] Consequently, Pitt's fluidness opened the flood-gates for each successive administration to win influence and balance parliamentary majorities through additional creations and promotions.

As mentioned above, the second source of his power was determination. The Younger Pitt never married, had few friends, and seldom took time away from the business of government and politics.[31] He was a consummate politician who lived politics to the fullest – with the exception that he never enjoyed the "political perks."[32] After only

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[29] As seen in Chapter One, members of both the "Bloomsbury Gang" and the "King's Friends" received coveted titles and sinecures for their loyalty. Whig critics accused Pitt of using the Crown's patronage-system "with all the licentiousness and partiality of private property." Quoted in: Cobbett, 24:439.

[30] Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837, 49-50. Ironically, between 1784 and 1820, the peerage increased by **166** members. Ironically, despite endless criticism of "Pitt's peers" watering-down the nobility's prestige, the majority of these creations went to men previously associated with this titled membership through birth, land-holdings, or business transactions.

[31] Pares, 161-162. "It was Pitt's men of business and, above all, his young men, who had his real confidence and saw his real face." His public secrecies and private confidences caused his young followers to "compete so fiercely – almost like rival sultanas – for his favor and, after his death, for his political heritage."

[32] A social recluse, Pitt much preferred a quiet, retired life at **Holwood**, his estate in Kent, with a few very close friends as opposed to parties and functions in London. He declined the offer of a vacant Garter, and never achieved the prestige of a title since his presence was demanded in the Commons. In 1792, the king forced him to become "Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports" which provided him with £3000 per annum and residence in **Walmer Castle**. This sinecure was the only trapping of office that Pitt accepted during his twenty-two years as prime minister. For more information, read: Stephen Gwynn, ed., The Personal History of Walmer Castle and its Lords Warden, by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (London:. Macmillan Limited, 1927).

a few months in office, Pitt began to receive attention and support from that pendulum of success – the "Backbenchers." He was an honest and diplomatic man who cultivated few with his lusterless charm, but won many through determined action. Despite his obsessive compulsive behavior of always placing work as a priority, Pitt gained audiences through his intellectual rhetoric. He prevailed over most of the Commons' debates regardless of significance, and the enmity that he felt toward his political enemies knew no bounds. In summarizing his career, the Honorable Clive Bigham wrote:

> Having come so young into high office, his authority, decision and resource gradually became so undisputed, rapid and ready that he acquired a unique position in Parliament. With the King he was a mayor of the palace, with the country a tradition, and with his party a magnet that attracted and enchained their loyalty.[33]

In April 1784 he achieved the ultimate victory with a resounding majority returned through an election he had decided to call early. He continued to maintain and gain power after the 1789 French Revolution, as conservatives throughout the land fought against radical notions. Undeniably, many British subjects were frightened by the radicalism spreading throughout the Continent. In his greatest hour, Pitt the Younger instituted his own "Reign of Terror," or perhaps reign of conservatism, in order to keep peace and ensure that the radical occurrences in France not cause chaos across the Channel. Always a man who abhorred violence, he implemented harsh militia controls, such as curfews, and conservative rallies throughout the realm to maintain order among the masses.

Opposition against this neurotic Prime Minster was led by his life-long nemesis,

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[33] Bigham, 95.

Charles James Fox,[34] who became progressively weaker as an opponent as the 1780s and 1790s passed. Contemporaries recorded: "Every cutting thrust from Fox brought a more cutting and wittier one from Pitt."[35] However, Fox's greatest opportunities for challenging the ruling ministry's authority developed when the British people were plunged into despair over the King suffering a series of unexplained attacks of madness.[36] The realm waited with anticipation for any news of "the King's bilious attacks" as the Queen described her husband's first bout in a letter from Kew Palace to her son, Prince Augustus, on 4 July 1788.[37] This period of history has been illustrated in the modern film, The Madness of King George III.

The Reverend A.B. Beaven researched the personal politics of specific peers from this period, and stated:

> From the Regency Bill of 1789 to the close of the eighteenth-century the main body of Pitt's supporters may for historical purposes be classed as Tories, though Pitt himself and Grenville, his leader in the House of Lords, would hardly have accepted the designation: these were reinforced in 1794 by the Portland-Burke section of the Whigs, some of whom were with Portland himself finally incorporated in the Tory party, whilst others, as Windham,

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[34] In the biography, Charles James Fox (page 3), L.G. Mitchell wrote: "The fact that virtually the whole of Fox's political life was spent attacking the incompetence and malevolence of kings was incongruous. The sight of Fox and his friends attacking the exercise of executive power was so odd," since he was a descendant of Charles I, through Charles Lennox – 1st Duke of Richmond & illegitimate son of Charles II.

[35] Hellicar, 36. For accurate (and amazingly unbiased) descriptions of Fox, Pitt, and their contemporaries, one might turn to the first-hand accounts of Fox's nephew. These were edited by his son as Memoirs of the Whig Party During My Life by Henry Richard Vassall Fox, The Third Baron Holland, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852).

[36] Modern medicine has diagnosed this condition as a metabolic illness, known as *porphyria*. For those interested in this research, read: H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, "Foreword," in Brooke, King George III, vii-ix, and also a more substantial discussion on 318-343.

[37] "The Queen to Prince Augustus, 4 July 1788," in Arthur Aspinall, ed., The Later Correspondence of George III, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966-1970), vol. 1: no. 458, fn. #2, 378.

> Spencer, Minto, &c., reverted to their old Whig connexion after the Peace of Amiens.[38]

The above dramatic 1794 infusion of new peers occurred when three of the late Marquess of Rockingham's friends (ally, nephew and secretary, respectively), the third Duke of Portland, the second Earl Fitzwilliam and Edmund Burke, led disgruntled Foxites across the Chamber to support Pitt. Of Burke's Whiggish theology and the lessons he taught, John Derry has written:

> He defended property as a security for liberty, and romanticised the English aristocracy as the great oaks of the constitution, arguing that far from Britain having anything to learn from what was going on in France the French had failed to draw the right lessons from the English experience.[39]

As the world outside Britain turned violent, most of the British people remained content and secure in their conservatism.[40] Most believed in Great Britain's immemorial constitutional superiority to other nations and saw no reason to flock to the emerging radicals. For most citizens of Hanoverian Britain,

> rule by a favoured and privileged minority was part of the natural order of things, sanctioned by God, justified by prescription, enforced through the laws of man and, not least, through the moral authority of the church. After the uncertainty generated through Jacobite rebellions had

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[38] Beaven, "Politics of Peers," in Gibbs, The Complete Peerage, vol. 1: appendix I, 501. In January 1795, eleven years after Pitt's rise, the paternal but patronizing Duke of Richmond was replaced by the calm but methodical Marquess Cornwallis, since the Master-General of the Ordnance must be in the confidence of the Prime Minister and never oppose the ruling Ministry's continental interventions.

[39] John Derry, "The Opposition Whigs and the French Revolution, 1789-1815," in Britain and the French Revolution, ed., by Dickinson, 42.

[40] Patriotic Duty spilled over from armed-service recruitments, as the Pitt Ministry instituted "civilian programmes" to raise a defensive HOME GUARD under the auspices of the Lord Lieutenants. Details are thoroughly discussed in Sir John Fortescue, The County Lieutenancies and the Army, 1803-1814 (London: Macmillan and Company Limited, 1909).

> evaporated there developed what John Cannon has termed 'an almost hysterical regard for the constitution'.[41]

As may be witnessed in the following collection of contemporary propaganda, while the extremists and revolutionaries promoted democracy and French-like nationalism, the Government and its fervent supporters reached out to the public in a cautious show of paternalistic affection and receptive approbation.[42]

These writers or propagandists made pragmatic arguments based on their financial and power relations with the poor. One can see the old proverbial fight between the Haves and the Have-nots coming to light in a new avenue. Whether members of the ruling elite or simply of the mid-to-upper middle class, all tried to secure their rights and position by convincing the poor to remain enthusiastic about the status-quo and accept subservience to their "betters." From an opposite point of view, the radicals of the later eighteenth century,

> made much of the ancient constitution and of the Norman yoke thesis which argued that an arbitrary monarchy had set about destroying the immemorial liberties of the people ever since 1066, but they rejected the confidant claim that the Glorious Revolution had fully restored the constitution.[43]

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[41] John O'Gorman, "Pitt and the 'Tory' Reaction...," in Britain and the French Revolution, ed. by Dickinson, 28.

[42] Professor Harry T. Dickinson of the University of Edinburgh in Scotland, suggested studying original tracts from Gregory Claeys, Political Writings of the 1790s: The French Revolution Debate in Britain, vols. 7 and 8. (London: Pickering and Chatto Limited, 1995), in order to understand the growth and stability of contemporary conservative views.

[43] Dickinson, Liberty and Property, 204. Those who want to learn more about the foundation of Radical ideas and organizations in Britain from the 1760s to 1780s, read Chapter 6 of the book. Also, see John Brewer's fine article in J.G.A. Pocock, ed., Three British Revolutions: 1641,1688,1776 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1980); and Harry T. Dickinson, British Radicalism and the French Revolution, 1789-1815 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Limited, 1985).

In an epoch when most monarchs were cringing in the wake of the French Revolution, George III refused to submit on questions of "honour."[44] As seen above, even before the rumblings of rebellion began in France, the King had turned to Pitt to reawaken and lead members of the old "King's Friends-Bloomsbury Gang" coalition, or their sons and nephews, in protection of the Crown and Country against the "New Whigs." Whereas His Majesty's proclamations and orders appeared haughty and full of smug self-righteousness,[45] most of his conservative supporters were appealing to the lower-classes with definite reasons to view their "old" position in a positive light in opposition to "new" radical options.

Whether unknown loyalists, propagandists for conservative societies such as The Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers, or religious logicians, these men and women were committed to asserting the best that Britain offered her citizens. Many purported that Loyalism would be rewarded by a continuation of what societal leaders termed a traditional existence. In A Letter To The Farmers and Manufacturers, one anonymous writer spoke to the common people about the dangers of extremist uprisings and argued they should remain uncommitted to anyone save those they trusted in their locality and the Government. The author attempted to show that the people should never contemplate leaving their occupations and becoming

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[44] Despite his precarious mental-state and aloof attitudes to the general masses, George III remained popular because of not only the horrific consequences of the French Revolution, but also the outlandish and rakish behavior of his sons, which placed them in almost "universal contempt" when no heirs arrived.
[45] Claeys, Political Writings, 7:121-122. The particular proclamation studied was issued on 21 May 1782. It was later reprinted several times by the Society for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers.

would-be politicians along side their betters. Though this writer drew class distinctions, he stated:

> All good and conscientious men [should] reflect seriously on the blessings they enjoy at present...and impress on their uncorrupted minds this wholesome and indisputable truth, that as every purpose for which men enter into society is answered under a Constitution where the LIFE and PROPERTY of the peasant is as secure, and held as sacred as those of a Prince.[46]

W.H. Ashhurst, Justice of the King's Bench Court, offered a similarly positive view:

> There is no Nation in the world that can boast of a more perfect system of Government than that under which we have the happiness to live, where no man is so high as to be above the reach of the law, and no man so low as not to be within its protection; where the power of the Crown on the one hand and the Liberty of the subject on the other are both effectually secured, and at the same time kept within their proper limits.[47]

William Paley's Reasons For Contentment, Addressed To The Labouring Part Of The British Public asserted that most laborers viewed their work and lives as "goodly and godly" through the continuation of centuries-old farming, begun by far-removed ancestors, for the same landed families. Paley drew from his knowledge and influence as a philosopher and cleric to demonstrate that God was pleased with works of the "Labouring

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[46] Claeys, Political Writings, 7:123-137, especially 125. This appeared originally as a printed pamphlet by Unknown Author, A Letter To The Farmers and Manufacturers In Great Britain and Ireland, On The Audacious Attempts Of Obscure And Unprincipled Men To Subvert The British Government (London: John Stockdale Printers, 1792), 40 pages.

[47] Claeys, Political Writings, 7:215-218, especially 215. This appeared originally as both an eight-page pamphlet and a broadsheet in 1792 under the title, Mr. Justice Ashhurst's Charge To The Grand Jury For The County Of Middlesex. Among the responses to it was Jeremy Bentham's Truth Versus Ashhurst, written in 1792 but not published until 1823. William Henry Ashhurst (1725-1807) possessed a "reputation for clarity and good sense."

British Public." His tract demonstrated that the people should never allow themselves "to dwell upon comparisons between [their] own condition an that of others, but to keep [their attention] fixed upon duties and concerns."[48] The Poor learned that contentment, not wealth, brought happiness. Ridiculous to our minds, the Laborers probably accepted this theory because they were trapped in an ancient master-worker world which was wonderful when compared with the upset French nation.

William Jones's One-Penny-Worth Of Truth From Thomas Bull, To His Brother John, illustrates strong reactions against the French Revolution and British radicals who trusted its advantages. The author hoped to instill within his readers' minds, ideas of property and the Right of inheritance "which is the most sacred upon earth, and without it would not be worth while either to work or live."[49] Jones also presented valid reasons for inequality based on God's appointed station for each person and their status, especially for the maintenance of kings who always continued the traditional ways of their people without ungodly hardships.

In her Village Politics, Addressed To All The Mechanics, Journeymen, and Day Labourers In Great Britain, Hannah More (alias "Will Chip") demonstrated through dialogue that the government depended on reliable and sensible men like Jack to remain

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[48] Claeys, Political Writings, 7:219-226, especially 220. This twenty-two page pamphlet appeared in 1792 under the title, Reasons For Contentment, Addressed To The Labouring Part Of The British Public. William Paley (1743-1805), divine and philosopher, Archdeacon of Carlisle from 1782.

[49] Claeys, Political Writings, 7:282-286, especially 284. William Jones's One Penny Worth of Truth..., was "one of the best known tracts directed specifically at the working classes." This twenty-two page leaflet was independently published in 1792, but later collected and disseminated the same year within Publications, Recommended To The Perusal Of The Public, In The Present Crisis: Number 1 Containing One Penny-Worth Of Truth; Ten Minutes' Caution; and A Country Curate's Advice, &c., by the Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers.

loyal and convince men like Tom of Britain's greatness. Their conversation established that British liberties were in existence for all citizens, regardless of class distinctions. In a series of subtle comparisons, More indicated England was already a great nation with a "true constitution" without any assistance from the French, especially when the citizenry of those supposedly enlightened people became the bitterest of the poor. Whereas the French people's equality made them all beggars at the lowest levels on earth and demolished hopes of an afterlife, all British citizens were rich in their own way and most awaited the "true" treasure in heaven. While Democrats brought an equality of "murder, nakedness, and hunger," British Loyalists (conservatives) achieved the greatest equality with each man fulfilling his designated task and reaching a satisfaction of peace.[50]

In large measure, the poor seem to have cast their lot with the paternalistic "masters" that their families had served and relied upon for generations. All the above tracts attempted to show that "loyalism" was rampant among most people in the realm. In general, the English people remained stratified and each class continued to preserve their positions of power, even if at the cost of those below. The majority of workers viewed contentment as true happiness, as revealed in the conclusive statement of Hannah Moore's character, Jack:

> I have got the use of my limbs, of my liberty, of the laws, and of my Bible. The two first, I take to be my natural rights; the two last my civil and religious rights: these, I

[50] Claeys, Political Writings, 8:1-10, especially 8. This later appeared as a short story entitled, "A Dialogue between Jack Anvil, the Blacksmith and Tom Hod, the Mason," in Hannah More's Village Politics, Addressed To All The Mechanics, Journeymen, and Day Labourers In Great Britain (London: F. & C. Rivington, 1792), 24 pages. Hannah More (1745-1833), was "a religious writer, leader of the evangelical revival, and founder of the Religious Tract Society."

> take it, are the true Rights of man, and all the rest is nothing but nonsense and madness and wickedness.[51]

"Given the enthusiasm with which the propertied classes rallied round the throne and the church there seems to have been little serious threat to the internal security of the country."[52] Hence, the re-emergence of the Tory party in the 1770s, led by those men of authority within the "Bloomsbury Gang," had brought about not only a conservative wave of political action, but also an almost spiritual revival of patriotism to Court and Country. In the decades following the Younger Pitt's rise to power, he noticeably adopted these ideas and unknowingly founded the modern ***Conservative Party*** based on assumptions of government the original Bedford faction introduced within the King's Court-coalition.[53] Taking this a step further, "when the monarch ceased to play the role of party leader the way was clear for a 'Tory' rather than a 'King's' government, especially when greater political coherence was beginning to inform ministerial politics."[54]

In conclusion, the peers who founded and supplied the "Bloomsbury Gang" with superb leadership for three decades should be given greater recognition for their role in the re-emergence of the Tory party. Their importance to the nation is underscored by a

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[51] Claeys, Political Writings, 8:7-8.

[52] O'Gorman, "Pitt and the 'Tory' Reaction..." in Britain and the French Revolution, ed. by Dickinson, 34. In Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), Linda Colley demonstrates that the majority of Britons became increasingly conservative and militaristic in the two decades after the French Revolution.

[53] For a comparison of the original Bedford ideas with those Bloomsbury principles that developed in the 1770s, see: E.C. Johnson, "The Bedford Connection: The Fourth Duke of Bedford's Political Influence, 1732-1771," (Ph.D. Dissertation in History, Cambridge University, 1980).

[54] O'Gorman, "Pitt and the 'Tory' Reaction...," in Britain and the French Revolution, ed. by Dickinson, 26. Bigham (158) wrote: "In the half-century following the Peace of Amiens ten Tory Prime Ministers, besides Pitt, led the government. Excepting Stanley, who was still in the nursery, Peel, who was at Oxford, and Wellesley, who was soldiering, all of these had been Pitt's protégés or colleagues."

Victorian reflection on the original bedrock of this group, the fourth Duke of Bedford. His grandson, Lord John Russell, who was actually a devout Whig, wrote:

> The want of practical religion and morals which Lord Chesterfield held up to imitation, conducted the French nobility to the guillotine and emigration; the honesty, the attachment to his religion, the country habits, the love of home, the activity in rural business and rural sports, in which the Duke of Bedford and others of his class delighted, preserved the English aristocracy from a flood which swept over half of Europe, laying prostrate the highest of her palaces, and scattering the ashes of the most sacred of her monuments.[55]

Having developed the foundations of modern British conservatism, these men passed the torch to the next generation and rested in contentment with the knowledge that the British Establishment was still firmly in place. The nineteenth-century descendants of these Great Magnates were to attain even greater glories and build Great Britain into a supreme world power, although they would be forced in time to strengthen their political base by bringing in the participation of the middle-classes in 1832 – and even the working classes in 1867 and 1885.[56] Under the guiding principles of conservatism, Britannia would rise like a phoenix out of the ashes of her lost American colonies to build an empire upon which the sun never set. Conclusively, scholar Daniel Baugh has asserted:

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[55] Russell, Correspondence of Bedford, 3: lxxxiii. Interestingly, the fourth Duke of Bedford's three grandsons turned their backs on "Bloomsbury" principles once they came of age, and returned to the Whig heritage of their Russell forefathers. These three men became the fifth Duke of Bedford, the sixth Duke of Bedford, and Lord John Russell (later Earl Russell), respectively.

[56] Peter Jupp, Lord Grenville, 1759-1834 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 468. Worried about preserving their authority, Tory and Whig peers alike recognized that the survival of their oligarchy was dependent on their willingness "to respond positively to public pressures."

> The self-restraint and conscious rectitude of a neo-Puritanism, 'undemonstrative, gentlemenlike, & reasonable' had to be superimposed on the curious, voracious, acquisitive, utterly egotistic, and amoral energy of the eighteenth century, before the Englishman could change from a rover into a ruler. The eighteenth century was the childhood of Imperial Britain.[57]

[57] Baugh, 218.

John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, K.G..
From a portrait by Thomas Gainsborough

COURTESY OF THE MARQUESS OF TAVISTOCK AND TRUSTEES OF BEDFORD ESTATE

EPILOGUE: 1789

Taking Leave of the King's Friends

Twenty years had passed since His Grace The Duke of Grafton wed Miss Elizabeth Wrottesley at Woburn Abbey, and further aligned himself within the membership of the infamous "Bloomsbury Gang." Even ten years had flown by since Lords Gower and Weymouth resigned from keeping Lord North afloat.[1] Indeed, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Suffolk had long been dead having faded from the scene as the word "Bloomsbury" began to strike both fear and respect. These proud patricians who had brought about the re-emergence of the Tory Party were among the monarch's most favored advisors and yet, have remained obscured to the notice of most modern historians since less interesting and colorful than the flashy wits of their day.

For the majority of these men, their twilight years were filled with joy and laughter, not only by the children and grandchildren who resided within their country-homes and town-houses, but also from the frequent visits of age-old friends remembering/sharing past coups as well as "pup-politicians" attempting to gain sage advice. They believed in open hospitality and, above all else, they promoted the dedication of close-knit family circles. Though the sorrowful sisters of sadness and defeat may have visited occasionally, the "Bloomsbury Gang" families were blessed with moderate wealth, prestigious titles and

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[1] Ponsonby (120) wrote: "Except for about twenty years in and after the reign of Charles I – when there were five marquises – no more than three noblemen ever bore this title contemporaneously till the reign of George III [when he raised eleven court-cronies in the peerage as marquesses in a period of six years]." The Earl of Gower became the Marquess of Stafford, and Viscount Weymouth, the Marquess of Bath.

enviable successes, both socially and politically.

Consumed by agricultural projects and disgusted by the pompous Court jackals who were worse than even Horace Walpole, these men and women almost always absented themselves from court. Occasionally returning from political retirement and comfortable seclusion to do their master's bidding, members of the old Tory-Court coalition achieved new social zeniths and titular dignities in the 1780s and 1790s. And yet, ever so slightly death began to creep toward them. Each in their own time had an appointment to keep toward eternity, and they began departing: first Sir Richard Rigby (1788), then Gertrude, Dowager-Duchess of Bedford (1792), and then John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1794).

To take but one example, as the years of dissipation began to take their toll, Lord Bath's health failed and he was forced to use a sedan chair because of his gout and other ailments. While on a visit to his London townhouse in Arlington Street, the first Marquess of Bath died in the early morning hours of 19 November 1796. Of this death, Beriah Botfield, a Thynne relation and renowned genealogist, wrote:

> Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth and first Marquess of Bath, closed his distinguished career on the 19th November 1796, and slept with his fathers at Longbridge-Deverill. In the chapel of the Thynne family on the north side of the chancel in that church is a very handsome marmoreal record, bearing this inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of the Most Honourable...This much-respected Nobleman served their Majesties in the following high and honourable employments....[2]

[2] Beriah Botfield, Stemmata Botevilliana: Memorials of the Families of De Boteville, Thynne, and Botfield, in the Counties of Salop and Wiltshire (Westminster, UK: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1958), 47.

A 700-man mounted escort returned his corpse to Longleat and he was buried in the family vault at Longbridge-Deverill. His great-great-great-grandson wrote of him: "If he had failed to obtain lasting political success, he had still succeeded in rescuing the estate from near ruin; and he left behind the new woodlands, Capability Brown's park landscape, nine children, his title and his debts."[3] The first Marquess of Stafford (Gower) and Charles Jenkinson, the newly created Earl of Liverpool, lived into the early years of the new century and witnessed the promise of their sons, nephews, and political heirs. The Tory party had re-emerged and its membership swelled with the descendants of its "Bloomsbury Gang" legacy.

[3] Alexander Thynn, 7th Marquess of Bath, "Personal Manuscript" (1993), 10.

Appendix A

MINISTRIES

This first appendix outlines the individuals who composed the Grafton, North, and Pitt ministries. Some appointment years pre-date each ministerial grouping, because certain individuals were carried over from the Earl of Chatham's administration – which held power from 1766 to 1768, with the Duke of Grafton as virtual head during the Elder Pitt's absences – and earlier ministries.

Grafton Ministry: 21 October 1768 – 27 January 1770

1st Lord of the Treasury	**Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton**	2 Aug. 1766
Chancellor of Exchequer	**Frederick North, 7th Baron North**	6 Oct. 1767
Lord Privy Seal	**George William Hervey, 2nd Earl of Bristol**	2 Nov. 1768
Lord President of the Council	**Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower**	23 Dec. 1767
Lord Chancellor	**Charles Pratt, 1st Baron Camden** **Charles Yorke, 1st Baron Morden**	30 July 1766 17 Jan. 1770
Secretary of State for South	**Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth**	21 Oct. 1768
Secretary of State for North	**William Henry Zuylestein, 4th Earl of Rochford**	21 Oct. 1768
Secretary of State for Colonies *President of the Board of Trade*	**Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount /1st Earl of Hillsborough** **Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount /1st Earl of Hillsborough**	20 Jan. 1768 20 Jan. 1768
1st Lord of the Admiralty	**Sir Edward Hawke**	10 Dec. 1766
Secretary at War	**W.W. Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington**	19 July 1765
Master-General of the Ordnance *Commander-in-Chief*	**John Manners, Marquess of Granby** **John Manners, Marquess of Granby**	1 July 1763 10 Dec. 1766

North Ministry: 27 January 1770 – 20 March 1782

1st Lord of the Treasury	**Frederick North, 7th Baron North**	27 Jan. 1770
Chancellor of Exchequer	**Frederick North, 7th Baron North**	6 Oct. 1767
Lord Privy Seal	**George Montagu Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax**	26 Feb. 1770
	Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk (& Berkshire)	22 Jan. 1771
	Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton	12 June 1771
	William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth	10 Nov. 1775
Lord President of the Council	**Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower**	23 Dec. 1767
	Henry Bathurst, 2nd Earl Bathurst	24 Nov. 1779
Lord Chancellor	[*Seal in Commission from 20 January 1770*]	
	Henry Bathurst, 1st Baron Apsley (Earl Bathurst)	23 Jan. 1771
	Edward Thurlow, 1st Baron Thurlow	3 June 1778
Secretary of State for South	**Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth**	21 Oct. 1768
	William Henry Zuylestein, 4th Earl of Rochford	19 Dec. 1770
	Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth	9 Nov. 1775
	Wills Hill, 1st Earl of Hillsborough	24 Nov. 1779
Secretary of State for North	**William Henry Zuylestein, 4th Earl of Rochford**	21 Oct. 1768
	John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich	19 Dec. 1770
	George Montagu Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax	22 Jan. 1771
	Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk (& Berkshire)	12 June 1771
	Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth	7 March 1779
	David Murray, Viscount Stormont	27 Oct. 1779
Secretary of State for Colonies	**Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount /1st Earl of Hillsborough**	20 Jan. 1768
	William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth	14 Aug. 1772
	Lord George (Sackville) **Germain**	10 Nov. 1775
	Welbore Ellis (created 1st Baron Mendip)	17 Feb. 1782
	[*Office abolished at end of 1782*]	
1st Lord of the Admiralty	**Sir Edward Hawke**	10 Dec. 1766
	John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich	12 Jan. 1771
Secretary at War	**W.W. Barrington, 2nd Viscount Barrington**	19 July 1765
	Charles Jenkinson (created 1st Baron Hawkesbury)	16 Dec. 1778
Master-General of the Ordnance	**John Manners, Marquess of Granby**	1 July 1763
	George Townshend, 4th Viscount Townshend	1 Oct. 1772
Commander-in-Chief	**Jeffrey Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst**	March 1772
Paymaster of the Forces	**Richard Rigby**	14 June 1768

Pitt the Younger's 1st Ministry: 19 December 1783 – 19 February 1801

1st Lord of the Treasury	**William Pitt the Younger**	19 Dec. 1783
Chancellor of the Exchequer	**William Pitt the Younger**	27 Dec. 1783
Lord Privy Seal	**John Manners, 4th Duke of Rutland**	23 Dec. 1783
	[*Seal in Commission from 8 March 1784*]	
	Granville, 2nd Earl Gower (Marquess of Stafford)	22 Nov. 1784
	George Spencer-Churchill, 4th D. of Marlborough	16 July 1794
	John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham	17 Dec. 1794
	[*Seal in Commission from 21 September 1796*]	
	John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmoreland	14 Feb. 1798
Lord President of the Council		
	Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower	19 Dec. 1783
	Charles Pratt, 1st Baron Camden	1 Dec. 1784
	William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam	11 July 1794
	David Murray, Viscount Stormont, 2nd Earl of Mansfield	17 Dec. 1794
	John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham	21 Sept. 1796
Lord Chancellor	**Edward Thurlow, 1st Baron Thurlow**	23 Dec. 1783
	[*Seal in Commission from June 1792*]	
	Alexander Wedderburn, 1st B. Loughborough	28 Jan. 1793
Home Office	**George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 2nd Earl Temple**	19 Dec. 1783
	Thomas Townshend, 1st Viscount Sydney	23 Dec. 1783
	William Wyndam Grenville (created 1st Baron Grenville)	5 June 1789
	Henry Dundas	8 June 1791
	William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd D. of Portland	11 July 1794
Foreign Office	**George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 2nd Earl Temple**	19 Dec. 1783
	Francis Osborne, M. of Carmarthen, 5th Duke of Leeds	23 Dec. 1783
	William Wyndam Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville	8 June 1791
Secretary for War & Colonies	**Henry Dundas**	11 July 1794
	[*Transferred from Home Office in 1794*]	
1st Lord of the Admiralty	**Richard Howe, 4th Viscount /1st Earl Howe**	30 Dec. 1783
	John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham	12 July 1788
	George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer	20 Dec. 1794
Master-General of the Ordnance	**Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond**	13 Jan. 1784
	Charles Cornwallis, 2nd Earl /1st M. Cornwallis	13 Feb. 1795

In addition to the above offices, Pitt the Younger included in his Cabinets "Ministers without Portfolios" as well as the presidents of the Boards of Trade and Control.

President of the Board of Trade	**Thomas Robinson, 1st Baron Grantham**	9 Dec. 1780
	Thomas Townshend, 1st Viscount Sydney	5 March 1784
	1st Baron Hawksbury (created Earl of Liverpool)	23 Aug. 1786
President of the Board of Control	**Thomas Townshend, 1st Viscount Sydney**	3 Sept. 1784
	W.W. Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville	12 March 1790
	Henry Dundas (created 1st Viscount Melville)	28 June 1793
Ministers without Portfolios	**David Murray, 2nd Earl of Mansfield**	Both from June
	Charles Pratt, 1st Earl Camden	1798 to Feb.1801

Though not included in the Cabinet of his first administration, the following men formed relationships with William Pitt, and adhered to "Bloomsbury" principles of Conservative thought.

Henry Addington (created 1st Viscount Sidmouth)

Hon. Henry Bathurst (succeeded as 3rd Earl Bathurst)

George Canning

Robert Hobart, 4th Earl of Buckinghamshire

Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawksbury (succeeded as 2nd Earl of Liverpool)

Sir John Jervis, Earl St. Vincent

Lord Granville Leveson-Gower (created 1st Earl Granville)

Charles Middleton (created 1st Baron Barham)

Thomas Pelham (created 1st Baron Pelham of Stanmer; succeeded as 2nd Earl of Chichester)

Sir Henry Phipps (created 1st Earl of Mulgrave)

Hon. Frederick John Robinson (created 1st Earl of Ripon & Viscount Goderich)

Dudley Ryder (created 1st Earl of Harrowby)

John Scott (created 1st Earl of Eldon)

Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (succeeded as 2nd Marquess of Londonderry)

Thomas Townshend (created 1st Viscount Sydney)

Charles Philip Yorke

Appendix B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

This second appendix provides biographical sketches of nineteen men who played significant roles during the focus of this study, 1768 to 1783. These men range from "Bloomsbury Gang" members to parliamentary flunkies and Opposition leaders. The pages below catalog a list of books and articles about each man, his family, and their estates. These serve as both suggested pleasure reading and "references" for each statistical life story that follows.

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Gladys Scott Thomson, The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669-1771.
Stephen Dodd, An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town of Woburn, its Abbey, and Vicinity; Containing also a Concise Genealogy of the House of Russell, and Memoirs of the late Francis Duke of Bedford.
J.H. Wiffen, Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell (2 vols.).
John Docwra Parry, History and Description of Woburn and its Abbey.
Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, Biographical Catalogue of the Pictures at Woburn Abbey (2 vols.).
John Russell, 13th Duke of Bedford, How to Run a Stately Home.
Kenneth Spavins and Anne Applid, The Book of Woburn.
E.C. Johnson, "The Bedford Connection: The Fourth Duke of Bedford's Political Influence, 1732-1771." [Ph.D. Dissertation in History at Cambridge University.]
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Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton

[Complete Peerage, vol. 6, 43-51; DNB, vol. 7, 198-201.]
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Ian Dunlop, "The 'Frenchness' of Euston Hall, Norfolk: Home of the Duke of Grafton," The Connoisseur (Nov. 1966).
D.P. Dymond, The Historical Evolution of Euston Park.
Bernard Falk, The Royal Fitz Roys: Dukes of Grafton Through Four Centuries.
Bernard Falk, The Berkeleys of Berkeley Square and Some of their Kinsfolk.
A.H. FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, Hints submitted to the serious attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, by a Layman (1789). [It urged propriety among the ruling-classes and a return to public worship with a revised liturgy.]
A.H. FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, The Serious Reflections of a Rational Christian from 1788 to 1797 (1797). [It promoted Unitarianism and spoke out against the infallibility of the writers of the Old and New Testaments.]
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Arthur Oswald, "Euston Hall, Suffolk: Seat of the Duke of Grafton," Country Life (Jan. 1957).
Maurice Lee, Jr., The CABAL: Power-Brokers under Charles II.
Brian Masters, The Mistresses of Charles II.
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Violet Barbour, Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II.

Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower

[Complete Peerage, vol. 12 - Part 1, 199-201; DNB, vol. 11, 1027-1028.]
Lady Granville, Lord Granville Leveson-Gower: Private Correspondence, 1781-1821 (2 vols.).
Lady Granville, Hary-o: The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish, 1796-1809.
Hon. Francis Leveson-Gower, ed., Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville, 1810-1845 (2 vols.).
Lord Fitzmaurice, The Life & Correspondence of the Second Lord Granville.
Eric Richards, The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution.
Bernard Falk, The Bridgewater Millions, A Candid Family History.
J.R. Wordie, Estate Management in Eighteenth-Century England: Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune.

Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth

[Complete Peerage, vol. 2, 20-27 & vol. 12 - Part 2, 585-589; DNB, vol. 19, 849-853.]
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Dorothy Coates, Longleat: The Wiltshire Home of the Marquess of Bath.
David Burnett, Longleat: The Story of an English Country House.
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R.J.B Knight, "Sandwich, Middleton and Dockyard Appointments," MM LVII, 175-192.
George Martelli, Jemmy Twitcher: A Life of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718-1792.
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C. Morrison, "The Naval Administration of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich," [Ohio State Thesis].
N.A.M. Rodger, The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich.
Frank Spencer, ed., The Fourth Earl of Sandwich: Diplomatic Correspondence, 1763-1765.

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[Complete Peerage, vol. 8, 86-89.]
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Norman Gash, Lord Liverpool: The Life and Political Career of Robert Banks Jenkinson, Second Earl of Liverpool, 1770-1828.
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Brian Fothergill, The Mitred Earl: An Eighteenth-Century Eccentric.
W.R. Brock, Lord Liverpool and Liberal Toryism, 1820-27.
J.F. Newton, Early Days of Canning.
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Rev. H.L.L. Denny, The Manor of Hawkesbury and its Owners.
Charles, 4th Earl of Liverpool and Compton Reade, House of Cornewall.

Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount & 1st Earl of Hillsborough

[Complete Peerage, vol. 4, 457-461; DNB, vol. 9, 878-880.]
[Collins's Peerage (1812), vol. 5: 103-105; Doyle's Official Baronage (1886), vol.2: 195-196.]
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Lord Campbell, Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. 5:433-472.

Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle

[Complete Peerage, vol. 3, 33-39; DNB, vol. 10, 14-17.]
[Collins's Peerage (1812), vol. 3: 508-509; Doyle's Official Baronage (1886), vol.1: 332-333.]
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N.V. Stopford-Sackville, Drayton House, Northamptonshire.
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William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth

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J.V. Beckett, The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles: Dukes of Buckingham & Chandos, 1710-1921.

William Petty-Fitzmaurice, 2nd Earl of Shelburne

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Edmond Petty-Fitzmaurice, 1st Baron Fitzmaurice, ed., The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdowne...from his Papers & Correspondence (3 vols.).
Sir William R. Anson, Bart., ed., Rights of Citizenship: A Survey of Safeguards for the People... With preface by the Marquess of Lansdowne,K.G..
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Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham

[Complete Peerage, vol. 11, 56-62; DNB, vol. 20, 959-962.]
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C.H. Hartshorne, Rockingham Castle, its antiquity and history (1852).
C. Wise, Rockingham Castle and the Watsons (1891).
Ross J.S. Hoffman, The Marquis: A Study of Lord Rockingham, 1730-1782.
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[Complete Peerage, vol. 10, 836-848; DNB, vol. 11, 923-927.]
[Collins's Peerage (1812), vol. 1: 208-211; Doyle's Official Baronage (1886), vol.3: 130-131.]
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John Kent, Records and Reminiscences of Goodwood and the Dukes of Richmond.
M.A. Lower, The Worthies of Sussex, Sketches of Eminent Natives from the Earliest Period to the Present Times.
William Hayley Mason, Goodwood, its House, Park and Grounds.
T.J. McCann, ed., The Correspondence of the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle, 1724-1750.
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Stella Tillyard, Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa, and Sarah Lennox, 1740-1832.
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(Hon.) Charles James Fox

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Lord Ilchester, ed., Henry Fox, First Lord Holland, his Family and Relations (2 vols.).
Stella Tillyard, Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa, and Sarah Lennox, 1740-1832.
John Cannon, The Fox-North Coalition: Crisis of the Constitution, 1782-84.
Henry Edward Fox, 4th Lord Holland, ed., Memoirs of the Whig Party during My Time, by Henry Richard, Third Baron Holland (2 vols.).

John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, K.G.

Birth: 30 September 1710 at Streatham Manor, Surrey

Lineage: 2nd son of Wriothesley Russell (2nd Duke) by his wife Elizabeth, heiress of John Howland of Streatham. Succeeded his brother Wriothesley (3rd Duke) on 23 Oct. 1732, precluding an expected career in the House of Commons.

Education: Private tutors at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, or Bedford House in London's Bloomsbury, until age nineteen when he went abroad on "Grand Tour."

Marriage: 1st (11 Oct. 1731) Lady Diana Spencer-Churchill, d. of Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, by Anne, 2nd d. of John Churchill and Sarah Jennings, the formidable first Duke & Duchess of Marlborough. [no issue]

2nd (2 April 1737) Lady Gertrude Leveson-Gower, d. of John, 1st Earl Gower, by Evelyn, heiress of Evelyn Pierrepont, 1st Duke of Kingston. [2 children]

Offices:

First Lord of the Admiralty	[25 Dec. 1744 to Feb. 1748]
Elder Brother of the Trinity House	[March 1745 until death]
Lord Lieutenant of Bedfordshire	[28 May 1745 until death]
Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire	[13 April 1751 until death]
Warden of the New Forest	[12 Feb. 1748 until death]
Secretary of State for the South	[13 Feb. 1748 to 13 June 1751]
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	[15 Dec. 1756 to March 1761]
Lord High Constable at Coronation	[22 Sept. 1761]
Lord Privy Seal	[25 Nov. 1761 to 22 April 1763]
Ambassador to France	[4 Sept. 1762 to June 1763]
Lord President of the Council	[2 Nov. 1763 to 12 July 1765]
Chancellor of the University of Dublin	[11 Nov.1765 until death]

Death: 14 January 1771 at Bedford House, Bloomsbury, and buried at Chenies, aged 60.

Honours: Fourth Duke of Bedford with titles: Marquess of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Howland of Streatham, and Baron Russell of Thornhaugh. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of Garter" on 22 June 1749.

Descent: Descending from the medieval Earls of Bedford, this ducal family continues at **Woburn Abbey**. The present Marquess and Marchioness of Tavistock have excelled not only in preserving the legacy of Britain's past, but also in developing new avenues for the country-houses of today, such as their championship horse-breeding programs. **Bedford House**, the meeting place of the "Bloomsbury Gang," was demolished earlier this century.

Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, K.G.

Birth: 28 September 1735 at Euston Hall, Suffolk

Lineage: Eldest surviving son of Lord Augustus FitzRoy, by his wife Elizabeth, d/heiress of Colonel William Cosby of Strodbell Hall (Ireland), Governor of New York. Lord Augustus was 3rd son of Charles FitzRoy (2nd Duke), [the grandson of King Charles II and the infamous Lady Castlemaine, through their son Henry FitzRoy (1st Duke) and Isabella Bennet (Countess of Arlington)], by Henrietta, d. of Charles Somerset (Marquess of Worcester) and sister of Henry, 2nd Duke of Beaufort. Succeeded to his grandfather's estates and titles on 6 May 1757.

Education: Hackney School; Westminster School; attended Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he received M.A. in 1753. While under the tutelage of Mr. Stonehewer who became his private secretary, he made the acquaintance of Thomas Gray.

Marriage: 1st (29 Jan. 1756) Hon. Anne Liddell, d. of Henry, Baron Ravensworth, by Anne, d. of Sir Peter Delme. They separated 11 Jan. 1765, and had marriage dissolved by Act of Parliament on 23 March 1769. [3 children]

2nd (24 June 1769) Miss Elizabeth Wrottesley, d. of the Rev. Sir Richard, 7th Bart. & Dean of Worcester, by Mary, d. of John Leveson-Gower (Earl Gower). [12 children]

Offices:

MP for Bury St. Edmunds	[Dec. 1756 to May 1757]
Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales	[1756 to 1757]
Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk	[6 May 1757 to 1763]
Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk	[1769 to 1790]
Secretary of State for the North	[12 July 1765 to May 1766]
First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)	[2 August 1766 to 28 Jan. 1770]
Lord Privy Seal	[12 June 1771 to 9 Nov. 1775]
Lord Privy Seal	[March 1782 to April 1783]
Chancellor of the University of Cambridge	[1768 to 1770]
Recorder of Thetford and Coventry	[1778 until death]
Trustee of the British Museum	[1793 until death]
Hereditary Ranger of Whittlebury & Salcey Forests	[Family Honour]

Death: 14 March 1811 at Euston Hall, and was buried on the estate in the crypt of The Church of St. Genevieve, amongst his ancestors, aged 75.

Honours: Third Duke of Grafton with titles: Earl of Arlington, Earl of Euston, Viscount Thetford, Viscount Ipswich, Baron Arlington, and Baron Sudbury. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 20 September 1769.

Descent: For more than three hundred years, the FitzRoy family have called **Euston Hall** home. The present Duke and Duchess continue family traditions in service to the nation.

Interests: Grafton devoted much of his time to his pack of hounds at **Wakefield Lodge**, to races at Newmarket, to re-landscaping and re-furbishing Euston Hall, and to defending the Unitarian religion through treatises on immorality and the Bible.

Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower & 1st Marquess of Stafford, K.G.

Birth: 4 August 1721 at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire

Lineage: 3rd but eldest surviving son of John Leveson-Gower (1st Earl) by his wife Evelyn, youngest d. of Evelyn Pierrepont, first Duke of Kingston-Upon-Hull. Succeeded to his father's estates and titles on 25 December 1754.

Education: Westminster School, 1731-1740; King's Scholar 1736; matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford, 30 April 1740; left University without degree.

Marriage: 1st (23 Dec. 1744) Miss Elizabeth Fazakerly of Penwortham Hall. [no issue]

2nd (28 March 1748) Lady Louisa Egerton, d. of Scrope, 1st Duke of Bridgwater, by Rachel, d. of Wriothesley Russell, 2nd Duke of Bedford. [4 children]

3rd (25 May 1768) Lady Susanna Stewart, d. of Alexander, 6th Earl of Galloway, by Catherine, d. of John Cochrane, 4th Earl of Dundonald. [4 children]

Offices:

MP for Bishop's Castle	[Dec. 1744 to April 1747]
MP for Westminster	[April 1747 to April 1754]
MP for Lichfield	[April to 25 Dec. 1754]
Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire	[7 Jan. 1755 to 1800]
High Steward of Stafford	[1769 until death]
Lord Privy Seal	[22 Dec. 1755 to 27 June 1757]
Master of the Horse	[2 July 1757 to 25 Nov. 1760]
Master of the Great Wardrobe	[25 Nov. 1760 to April 1763]
Lord Chamberlain of the Household	[April 1763 to July 1765]
Lord President of the Council	[23 Dec. 1767 to 25 Nov. 1779]
Lord President of the Council	[19 Dec. 1783 to 22 Nov. 1784]
Lord Privy Seal	[22 Nov. 1784 to 16 July 1794]

Death: 26 October 1803 at Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, and buried on the estate, aged 74.

Honours: First Marquess of Stafford [created 1 March 1786 in peerage of Great Britain] titles: Earl Gower, Viscount Trentham, and Baron Gower of Stittenham. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 11 February 1771.
*The new Marquess obtained a grant permitting him to use the famous badge of the ancient house of Stafford: the "Stafford Knot."

Descent: Three distinct lines of descent: Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland; John Egerton, fifth Duke of Sutherland; and the late Earl Granville of North Uist. **Dunrobin Castle** remains a monument to this man's descendants who have lived as both English grandees and Highland lairds. The original family home, **Trentham Hall** was extended and then demolished in 1910, with the Gardens given as local pleasure grounds.

Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth & 1st Marquess of Bath, K.G.

Birth: 13 September 1734 at Longleat House, Wiltshire

Lineage: Eldest son of Thomas Thynne (2nd Viscount) by his wife Louisa, d. of John Carteret, 1st Earl Granville, by his wife Frances, d. of Sir Robert Worsley. Succeeded to his father's estates and titles on 12 January 1751.

Education: Private tutors in village of Horningsham; attended St. John's College, Cambridge, where he received M.A. in 1753, when he went abroad for a year.

Marriage: (22 May 1759) Lady Elizabeth Cavendish-Bentinck*, d. of William, 2nd Duke of Portland, by Margaret, d/h of Edward Cavendish-Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. [10 children]

*A personal friend of Queen Charlotte, she served as a Lady of the Bedchamber (1760-1793) and Mistress of the Robes (1793-1818).
[She lived from 27 June 1735 to 12 December 1825.]

Offices:

Lord of the Bedchamber	[25 Nov. 1760 to April 1763]
Master of the Horse to the Queen	[21 April 1763 to April 1765]
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	[29 May to July 1765]
High Steward of Tamworth	[1765 until death]
Secretary of State for the North	[20 Jan. to Oct. 1768]
Secretary of State for the South	[21 Oct. 1768 to 16 Dec. 1770]
Secretary of State for the South	[10 Nov. 1775 to 25 Nov. 1779]
Elder Brother of Trinity House	[June 1770 until death]
Master of the Trinity House	[June 1770 to June 1773]
Groom of the Stole	[29 March to 10 Nov. 1775]
Groom of the Stole	[28 April 1782 until death]

Death: 19 November 1796 at his London townhouse in Arlington Street, and buried at Longbridge Deverill (family vault), aged 62.

Honours: First Marquess of Bath [created 18 August 1789 in peerage of Great Britain] with titles: Viscount Weymouth and Baron Thynne of Warminster. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 3 June 1778.

Descent: The fourteenth generation of Thynne occupants remains proudly at **Longleat**. Both the late Sixth Marquess and his son, the present Marquess, have proven remarkable showmen foraging the avenues of British country-house tourism, with even Britain's first Safari, The Lions of Longleat. With one of the largest safari parks outside of Africa, a WWII memorabilia exhibition, an avant-garde mural-collection, and a modern theme park, the Longleat estate has merged modern ways of viewing the world within the confines of Britain's historic past.

John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich

Birth: 13 November 1718 at Hinchingbrooke House, Huntingdonshire

Lineage: Eldest son of Edward Richard Montagu, Viscount Hinchingbrooke, by his wife Elizabeth, d. of Alexander Popham of Littlecote, Wiltshire. Grandson of 3rd Earl of Sandwich, whom he succeeded in 1729, at age eleven.

Education: Eton School, 1728-1732; admitted as Nobleman at Trinity College, Cambridge, 12 April 1735; left University without degree. After 1737, he spent a year in France and then traveled another year with a tutor to visit the Mediterranean, before plunging himself into party politics, and attaching himself to the Bedfordites. Through sponsorship and personal scholarship he helped found the Handelian tradition of music.

Marriage: (3 March 1741) Hon. Dorothy Fane, heiress of Charles, 1st Viscount Fane, by Mary, d. of the Hon. Alexander Stanhope. [5 sons] They separated due to her insanity in 1755. From 1763-79, he lived openly with Martha Ray.

Offices: Entered Army & rose through ranks...most senior General at time of his death.

Recorder of Huntingdon & Godmanchester	[1736 until death]
Minister Plenipotentiary at Breda conferences	[July 1746]
Minister Plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle	[25 Feb. 1748]
Minister Plenipotentiary at The Hague	[11 Nov. 1746 to Feb. 1748]
First Lord of the Admiralty	[20 Feb. 1748 to June 1751]
Elder Brother of the Trinity House	[8 April 1749 until death]
Master of the Trinity House	[1750-52, 1760-64, 1777-82]
appointed Ambassador at Madrid	[Feb. 1763, but did not proceed]
First Lord of the Admiralty	[23 April to Aug. 1763]
Secretary of State for the North	[9 Sept. 1763 to July 1765]
Joint Postmaster-General	[Jan. 1768 to Dec. 1770]
Secretary of State for the North	[19 Dec. 1770 to Jan. 1771]
First Lord of the Admiralty	[12 Jan. 1771 to March 1782]
Ranger of St. James's & Hyde Parks	[1783 to 1784]

Death: 30 April 1792 at his London townhouse in Hertford Street, Mayfair, and buried at Barnwell (family vault), aged 73.

Honours: Fourth Earl of Sandwich with titles: Viscount Hinchingbrooke and Baron Montagu of Saint Neots. ["Bloomsbury leader" but never made a K.G.]

Descent: Though no longer at Hinchingbrooke, the Montagu family continues at their home in Dorset, **Mapperton Court**. Further details unknown.

Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk & 5th Earl of Berkshire, K.G.

Birth: 16 May 1739 at Charlton Park, near Malmesbury, Wiltshire

Lineage: Eldest son of William Howard (Viscount Andover) by his wife Mary, d. of Heneage Finch, 2nd Earl of Aylesford, related to the Earls of Winchilsea and Nottingham. Grandson of Henry Bowes Howard, 11th Earl of Suffolk and 4th Earl of Berkshire, whom he succeeded in 1757, at age eighteen.

Education: Eton School, 1748-1756; admitted as Nobleman at Magdalen College, Oxford, 13 April 1757; received M.A. 4 July 1759 and D.C.L. 13 March 1761. No record has been found to state he went on the "Grand Tour".

Marriage: 1st (25 May 1764) Miss Maria Constantia Trevor, heiress of Robert, 1st Viscount Hampden, by Constantia, d. of Peter Anthony de Huybert, Baron van Kruyningen in Holland. [no issue]

2nd (14 Aug. 1777) Lady Charlotte Finch, d. of maternal uncle, Heneage, 3rd Earl of Aylesford, by Charlotte, d. of Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset. [2 sons: one predeceased him; the other born posthumously succeeded to his father's peerage on his birth, but died two days later. No daughters.]

Offices:		
	Bearer of the 2nd Sword at Coronation	[22 Sept. 1761]
	High Steward of Malmesbury	[1763 to 1767]
	Deputy Earl Marshal	[1763 to 1765]
	Lord Privy Seal	[22 Jan. to 12 June 1771]
	Secretary of State for the North	[12 June 1771 until death]

Death: 7 March 1779 while taking the waters at Bath, and buried at Charlton Park.

Honours: Twelfth Earl of Suffolk and Fifth Earl of Berkshire with title: Viscount Andover. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 3 June 1778.

Descent: **Charlton Park** remains entailed with the Howard family's joint-titles of Suffolk and Berkshire, which have passed to descendants of John Howard (1738-1820) – third cousin, and nearest male relative of the 12th Lord Suffolk.

*Vicary Gibbs, editor of The Complete Peerage, stated: "Since the terms Whig and Tory came into use, every Earl of Suffolk (with the exception of the 11th Earl) for over 200 years has been Whig or Liberal." Another exception was the 12th Earl who was influenced by his Tory grandfather from an early age, and eventually joined "Bloomsbury" friends in the North Government. His early death at age 39 brought about a weakening in those followers who supported Conservative principles. If he had lived, I believe the "Bloomsburys" would have continued their ascendancy and Earl Gower would have become First Lord of the Treasury within 1779. Though mere speculation, the Suffolk earls may have adopted more Conservative principles if Henry Howard had lived to an old age to raise a family of sons.

Charles Jenkinson, 1st Earl of Liverpool

Birth: 26 April 1727 in Addiscombe House, Surrey

Lineage: Eldest son of Charles Jenkinson, Colonel of the Horse Guards (son of Sir Robert Jenkinson, 2nd Bart.), by wife Amarantha, d. of Capt. Wolfran Cornewall.
*Succeeded his cousin Sir Banks Jenkinson, 6th Bart., in the Baronetcy and family estates on 22 July 1790.

Education: Charterhouse School (in Westminster); matriculated at University College, Oxford, from 14 March 1746; received B.A. 1749 and M.A. 1752.

Marriage: 1st (9 Feb. 1769) Miss Amelia Watts, d. of William of Southall (Berk) & Hanslope (Buckinghamshire), Governor of Fort William and President of the Council at Bengal, by Frances, d. of Edward Crook, Governor of Fort St.David. [**Robert Banks Jenkinson,** only child, went on to become Prime Minister (June 1812 to April 1827) and led the nation at time of Waterloo.]

2nd (22 June 1782) Catherine, widow of Sir Charles Cope, and d. of Sir Cecil Bishop, Bart., by Anne, d. of Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth [2 children].

Offices:

MP for Cockermouth	[1763 to 1766]
MP for Appleby	[1766 to 1772]
MP for Harwich	[1772 to 1774]
MP for Hastings	[1774 to 1780]
MP for Saltash	[1780 to 1786]
Leader of the "King's Friends" in the House of Commons	
Private Secretary to Lord Holdernesse	[1756 to 1758]
Private Secretary to Lord Bute	[1760 to 1761]
Under-Secretary for the North	[1761 to 1762]
Treasurer of the Ordnance	[1762 to 1763]
Joint Secretary to the Treasury	[1763 to 1765]
Lord of the Admiralty	[1766 to 1767]
Lord of the Treasury	[1767 to 1773]
Joint Vice-Treasurer for Ireland	[1772 to 1775]
Clerk of the Pells for Ireland	[1775 until death]
Secretary at War	[16 Dec. 1778 to March 1782]
Lord of Trade	[June 1784 to Aug. 1786]
President of the Board of Trade	[23 Aug. 1786 to 6 June 1804]
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	[6 Sept. 1786 to 11 Nov. 1803]

Death: 17 December 1808 at his London townhouse in Hertford Street, Mayfair, and buried at Hawkesbury Manor, Gloucestershire, aged 81.

Honours: First Earl of Liverpool [created 1 June 1796] and first Baron Hawkesbury [1786].

Descent: Lord Liverpool was succeeded by both his sons, neither of whom had issue. On their deaths, the earldom devolved into extinction until its revival in 1905 for the Foljambe family as descendents of his daughter Charlotte, Countess of Verulam. The Jenkinson baronetcy and **Hawkesbury Manor** passed to his nephew, whose descendents remain.

Wills Hill, 2nd Viscount & 1st Earl of Hillsborough & 1st Marquess of Downshire

Birth: 30 May 1718 at Fairford, Gloucestershire

Lineage: Only son of Trevor Hill (1st Viscount) by his wife Mary, d. of Anthony Rowe of Muswell Hill, Middlesex. Succeeded his father on 5 May 1742, and took his seat in the Irish House of Lords, on 11 Nov.1743; later obtained his seat in the English House of Lords on 2 Dec. 1756.

Education: Unknown.

Marriage: 1st (1 March 1748) Lady Margaretta Fitzgerald, sister of James, 1st Duke of Leinster, and d. of Robert, 19th Earl of Kildare, by Mary, d. of William O'Brien, 3rd Earl of Inchiquin. [5 children]

2nd (11 Oct. 1768) Mary, d. of Edward (4th Baron Stawell), widow of the Rt. Hon. Henry Bilson-Legge and aunt of William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth. She created Baroness Stawell of Somerton, in her own right, on 21 May 1760. [no issue]

Offices:

MP for Warwick (under Irish peerage)	[May 1741 to Nov. 1756]
Lord Lieutenant for County Down	[July 1742 until death]
Irish Privy Council	[25 Aug.1746 until death]
Comptroller of the Household	[21 May 1754 to Dec. 1755]
Treasurer of the Chamber	[27 Dec. 1755 to Nov. 1756]
Joint Registrar in Chancery for Ireland	[1759 until death]
President of the Board of Trade	[9 Sept. 1763 to July 1765]
President of the Board of Trade	[16 Aug. to 18 Dec. 1766]
Joint Postmaster General	[27 Dec. 1766 to 20 Jan. 1768]
President of the Board of Trade	[20 Jan. 1768 to 31 Aug. 1772]
Secretary of State for the Colonies	[20 Jan. 1768 to 14 Aug. 1772]
Secretary of State for the South	[25 Nov.1779 to 27 March1782]
Elder Brother of the Trinity House	[1781 until death]
Hereditary Constable of Hillsborough Fort	[Family Honour]

Death: 7 October 1793 at Hillsborough Castle, Co. Down, and buried on estate, aged 75.

Honours: First Marquess of Downshire [created 20 August 1789 in peerage of Ireland].
First Earl of Hillsborough [created 28 August 1772 in peerage of Great Britain] with title: Viscount Fairford, in Gloucestershire.
First Baron of Harwich [created 17 November 1756 in peerage of Great Britain] with title: Lord Harwich, in Essex.
First Earl of Hillsborough [created 3 October 1751 in peerage of Ireland] with title: Viscount Kilwarlin, in Co. Down.
*Cokayne: "This highly favored person...obtained for himself the same number of peerages as were conferred on Wellington, and twice as many as on Nelson."

Descent: Hill descendants remain at **High Burton House**, in Masham, Yorkshire(8th Marquess); **Easthampstead Park**, near Bracknell, Berkshire; and **Hillsborough Castle**, Co. Down, Ireland. [Wills Hill is maternal ancestor through daughters to Marquesses of Salisbury and Earls Talbot.]

Henry Bathurst, 2nd Earl Bathurst, KC

Birth: 2 May 1714 at Apsley Estate, near Cirencester

Lineage: Second but eldest surviving son of Allen (1st Earl Bathurst) by his wife/cousin Catherine, d. of Sir Peter Apsley. Allen was eldest son of Sir Benjamin, of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire (sometime Governor of East India Company), by Frances, d. of Sir Allen Apsley of Apsley, Sussex, and Frances, heiress of John Petre, of Bowhay, Devon.

Education: Private tutors until Eton School. Matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, from 14 May 1730; received B.A. 1733. Called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1736, he achieved status as a King's Counsel (KC) in January 1745.

Marriage: 1st (19 September 1754) Mrs. Anne James Philips, widow. [no issue]

2nd (7 June 1759) Miss Tryphena Scawen, d. of Thomas, Esq., of Manwell, Northamptonshire – relict and friend of Bedford Circle. [6 children]

Offices:

MP for Cirencester	[April 1735 to April 1754]
Solicitor-General to the Prince	[1746]
Attorney-General to the Prince	[1747 ~ 1751 on death of P. of Wales]
Attorney-General to Princess-Dowager	[20 March 1751 to 2 May 1754]
Justice of the Common Pleas	[2 May 1754 to 23 Jan. 1771]
Commissioner of the Great Seal	[20 Jan. 1770 to 23 Jan. 1771]
Lord Chancellor	[23 Jan. 1771 to 3 June 1778]
Lord President of the Council	[24 Nov. 1779 to 27 March 1782]

Death: 6 August 1794 at Oakley Grove, Sussex, and buried on the estate, aged 80.

Honours: First Baron Apsley [created 23 January 1771 in peerage of Great Britain] with title: Lord Apsley, in Sussex.
Second Earl Bathurst with title: Baron Bathurst of Battlesden, in Bedfordshire. [His father's barony was one of 12 peerages created 1 January 1712 to secure a majority in the Lords for the Tory administration. The earldom was conferred 12 August 1772, as a sign of friendship from the King.]

Descent: His son was esteemed and respected by contemporaries of both political parties, and obtained the Garter in 1817. Information is unknown concerning his present descendants. In Lives of the Lord Chancellors (vol. 5: 436-472), Lord Campbell described him as the least efficient Lord Chancellor in the Eighteenth-Century, stating the building of Apsley House was "perhaps the most memorable act in [his] life," while his patronage was distributed fairly and judiciously, both in the Law and the Church.

Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle, K.G.

Birth: 28 May 1748 at Castle Howard, Yorkshire

Lineage: Only son of Henry Howard (4th Earl) by his wife Isabella, d. of William Byron, 4thBaron Byron of Rochdale, by his wife Frances, d. of William Berkeley, 4th Baron Berkeley of Stratton. Succeeded his father on 4 September 1758. *Cousin of 6th Lord Byron, the Romantic poet, and introduced him into the Lords.

Education: Eton School, 1755-1764, with Fitzwilliam & Fox; attended King's College, Cambridge, but left University without degree. From 1767 to 1769, he traveled on the continental "Grand Tour," often with Charles James Fox.

Marriage: (22 March 1770) Lady Margaret Caroline Leveson-Gower, d. of Granville, 2nd Earl Gower, by Louisa, d. of Scrope Egerton, 1st Duke of Bridgwater. [7 children]

Offices:

Treasurer of the Household	[13 June 1777 to 6 Nov. 1779]
Commissioner to treat with America	[13 April 1778 to March 1779]
President of the Board of Trade	[6 Nov. 1779 to 9 Dec. 1780]
Lord Lieutenant of the East Rising, Yorkshire	[1780-1782, 1799-1807]
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	[13 Oct.1780 to 27 March 1782]
Lord Steward of the Household	[11 May 1782 to 2 April 1783]
Lord Privy Seal	[2 April 1783 to 19 Dec. 1783]
Chancery Guardian of Lord Byron	[1798 – 1806]

Death: 4 September 1825 at Castle Howard, and buried in Hawksmoor's mausoleum.

Honours: Fifth Earl of Carlisle with titles: Viscount Howard of Morpeth, and Baron Dacre of Gillesland. Elected a "Knight of the Thistle" on 23 December 1767, he was invested abroad at Turin by the King of Sardinia (27 February 1768). Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 12 June 1793, having previously resigned the Order of the Thistle.

Descent: The Carlisle titles have remained with the owners of the ancestral seat, **Naworth Castle.** However, the prestigious and architectuaral legacy of the family passed to a cadet branch represented by the Hon. Simon Howard, son of the late Lord Howard of Henderskelfe. His family has remained at **Castle Howard**, restoring and making it a magnificent monument to England's great country-house epoch. Horace Walpole supposedly exclaimed of Vanbrugh's northern masterpiece:: "I have seen gigantic palaces before, but never a sublime one." This home served as the film-site of Evelyn Waugh's novel, Brideshead Revisited, loosely based on the Lygon family of **Madresfield Court.**

Frederick North, 7th Baron North & 2nd Earl of Guilford, K.G.

Birth: 13 April 1732 at North townhouse in Albemarle Street (Piccadilly Square) London

Lineage: Eldest son of Francis North, 3rd Baron Guilford and 6th Baron North, by his wife Lady Lucy, d. of George Montagu, 1st Earl of Halifax, by Miss Richarda Posthuma, heiress of Richard Saltonstall, of Warden, Northamptonshire. Since his father [created 1st Earl of Guilford, 8 April 1752] lived a long life, he did not succeed to the North titles and estates until 4 August 1790.

Education: Private tutors at Wroxton Abbey [ancestral seat], until Eton School, 1742-1748. Attended Trinity College, Oxford; received M.A. 21 March 1751. Spent July 1751 to March 1754 on "Grand Tour" with Lord Dartmouth.

Marriage: (20 May 1756) Miss Anne Speke, heiress of Sir George, of Dillington House, Somerset, by 3rd wife Anne, d. of William Peer-Williams. [6 children]

Offices:

MP for Banbury	[April 1754 to April 1790]
Lord of the Treasury	[1759 to 1765]
Joint Paymaster General	[Dec. 1766 to Dec. 1767]
Chancellor of the Exchequer	[6 Oct. 1767 to 20 March 1782]
First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)	[28 Jan.1770 to 20 March 1782]
Chancellor of the University of Oxford	[10 Oct.1772 to 20 March 1782]
Master of the Trinity House	[1773 to 1775]
Elder Brother of the Trinity House	[1771 until death]
Lord Lieutenant of Somerset	[1774 until death]
Governor of the Levant Company	[1776 until death]
Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports	[1778 until death]
Secretary of State for Home Department	[2 April to 10 Dec. 1783]

Death: 5 August 1792 at Wroxton Abbey, and buried in North crypt of Wroxton Church.

Honours: Second Earl of Guilford with titles: Baron North (of Kirtling) & Baron Guilford. Elected and Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 18 June 1772.

*Rangership of **Bushy Park**, a sinecure held by his Uncle Halifax, was placed at the disposal of the North family as a country retreat near London. This lucrative estate passed to the Duke of Clarence (later King William IV) after Lady Guilford's death on 17 January 1797.

Descent: After his death, all three sons each in turn held the Guilford earldom and died without male issue. On 14 October 1827, the title passed to a son of his brother, the Bishop Brownlow North, whose descendants still bear the title and reside chiefly at **Waldershare Park** in Kent. **Wroxton Abbey** now serves as a European study center for Fairleigh-Dickinson University of New Jersey. The barony of North (cr.1554) fell into *abeyance* between the three daughters of his eldest son, third Earl of Guilford.

William Henry Nassau de Zuylestein, 4th Earl of Rochford, K.G.

Birth: 17 September 1717 at St. Osyth Priory, Essex

Lineage: Eldest son of Frederick Nassau de Zuylestein (3rd Earl) by his wife Bessy Savage, the illegitimate daughter of Richard Savage, 4th Earl Rivers, and Elizabeth Colleton. Succeeded to his father's estates and titles on 14 June 1738.

Education: Eton School, 1725-1732; no other mention found in regards to education.

Marriage: (May 1740) Miss Lucy Young, d. of Edward (of Durnford House, Wiltshire), who sometime "Bath King of Arms". She was acknowledged as one of the court beauties, and served as a Maid of Honor to the Princess of Wales. [no issue]

Offices:

Lord of the Bedchamber	[1738 to 1755]
Vice-Admiral of Essex	[1748 until death]
Envoy to Turin (Court of Sardinia)	[9 Sept.1749 to 11 Feb.1755]
one of the Lords Justices of the Realm	[April to Sept. 1755]
Lord Lieutenant of Essex	[1756 until death]
Ambassador to Madrid	[6 Dec. 1763 to 15 May 1766]
Ambassador to Paris	[28 Oct. 1766 to 1 Sept. 1768]
Secretary of State for the North	[21 Oct. 1768 to 19 Dec. 1770]
Secretary of State for the South	[19 Dec. 1770 to Oct. 1775]
Elder Brother of the Trinity House	[1771 until death]
Master of the Trinity House	[1775 to 1777]
Colonel in Western Battalion, Essex Militia	[??]
Governor of the Charterhouse	[??]

Death: 28 September 1781 at St. Osyth Priory, and buried on the estate, aged 64.

Honours: Fourth Earl of Rochford with titles: Viscount Tunbridge and Baron Enfield. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 3 June 1778.

Descent: On his death, all titles and estates passed to his name-sake nephew, eldest son of his brother, the Hon. Richard Savage Nassau de Zuylestein. However, all Rochford honours became *extinct* when this nephew died without issue, on 3 September 1830. Both the fourth and fifth earls of Rochford were devoted to the Conservative principles espoused by the Bloomsbury Gang.

Lord George Germain, 1st Viscount Sackville of Drayton

Birth: 26 January 1716 at the Sackville townhouse in Haymarket

Lineage: 3rd son of Lionel Cranfield Sackville [7th Earl & 1st Duke of Dorset] by his wife Elizabeth, d. of General Walter Philip Colyear. Well placed through connections and wealth as a member of the Sackville family of Knole, he was made the special heir-by-remainder of Lady Betty Germain, inheriting Drayton House, Northamptonshire, with ∫20,000, on 16 Dec. 1769. He assumed the name ***Germain*** by Act of Parliament on 16 Feb. 1770. He succeeded his father to the Stoneland Lodge estate, Sussex, on 10 Oct. 1765.

Education: Westminster School, 1723-1731; attended Trinity College (Dublin), where he received his B.A 1733 and MA. 1734. He was created an Irish Barrister in 1734. He advocated as Whig until about 1774, when he espoused Tory policies.

Marriage: (3 Sept. 1754) Miss Diana Sambrooke, heiress of Sir John, by Elizabeth, heiress of Sir William Forester. [Two sons]

Offices:

One of two Rangers of Phoenix Park	[1736 until death]
Clerk of the Council for Ireland	[23 April 1737 until death]
MP (Irish Parliament) for Portarlington	[1733 to 1761]
MP for Dover	[1741 to 1761]
MP for Hythe	[1761 to 1768]
MP for East Grinstead	[1768 to 1782]
Grand Master of the Irish Freemasons	[1750 to 1753]
Chief Secretary for Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	[1751 to 1755]
President of the Board of Trade	[10 Nov. 1775 to 6 Nov. 1779]
Secretary of State for the Colonies	[10 Nov. 1775 to 17 Feb. 1782]

[This sketch ignores his military career, which ended infamously when accused of cowardice for not obeying orders to charge on 1 August 1759, at the Battle of Minden. He was court-martialed and stricken from the Privy Council by George II. Eventually, George III who allowed his reception at Court recalled him.]

Death: 26 August 1785 at Stoneland Lodge [later "Buckhurst"], and buried in the ancestral Sackville crypt at Withyham, Sussex, aged 69.

Honours: First Viscount Sackville of Drayton [created 1 Feb. 1782 in peerage of Great Britain] with title: Baron Bolebrooke. [Despite outrage among the Lords, this peerage was created as the King desired to bestow on him a mark of favor.]

Descent: All Sackville honours became *extinct* on 29 July 1843, at the death of his son, Charles. The Stopford-Sackville family remains at **Drayton House** in Northamptonshire, as the descendants of his only surviving granddaughter, Caroline Harriet.

William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth

Birth: 20 June 1731 at Legge townhouse in Holles Street, Marylebone, London

Lineage: Only surviving son of George Legge (Viscount Lewisham) by his wife Elizabeth, d. of Sir Arthur Kaye, 3rd Bart., of Woodsome, Yorkshire, by Anne, d/h. of Sir Samuel Marowe, Bart. His paternal grandmother was Lady Anne Finch, d. of Heneage, 1st Earl of Aylesford, by Miss Elizabeth Banks. Succeeded to his grandfather's estates and titles on 15 December1750.
*Step-brother of Frederick, Lord North, when his mother married Francis North.

Education: Private tutors at the North estate, Wroxton, until Westminster School, 1741-1748. Attended Trinity College, Oxford; received M.A. 21 March 1751 & D.C.L. 28 April 1756. Spent July 1751 to March 1754 on "Grand Tour" with Fred North. Fervently religious, he sponsored poet William Cowper.

Marriage: (11 Jan. 1755) Miss Frances Catherine Gunter-Nicoll, heiress of Sir Charles, KB, by Elizabeth [later Duchess of Ancaster], d. of William Blundell. [8 sons]

Offices:

Recorder of Lichfield	[March 1757 until death]
Vice-President of T.Coram Foundation for Children	[March 1755 until death]
President of the Board of Trade	[20 July 1765 to 30 July 1766]
Secretary of State for the Colonies	14 Aug. 1772 to 10 Nov. 1775]
Lieutenant of Alice Holt & Woolmer Forests	[11 March 1773 until death]
Lord Privy Seal	[Nov. 1775 to March 1782]
Lord Steward of the Household	[April to Dec. 1783]
High Steward of the University of Oxford	[July 1786 until death]
Governor of the Charterhouse	[23 Nov. 1781 until death]

Death: 15 July 1801 at Blackheath estate in Kent, and buried in the Dartmouth vault at Trinity Church in the Minories, aged 72.

Honours: Second Earl of Dartmouth with titles: Viscount Lewisham and Baron Dartmouth. [Though extremely pious and respected by the King, it is quite puzzling that he received no additional honours, other than those inherited.]
**Dartmouth College incorporated by charter on 13 August 1769, was named in honor of this earl by great acclaim for services to the American Colonies.

Descent: The Legge ancestral home, **Patshull Hall** near Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, was demolished and replaced by a country-club and retreat-center. A piece of the estate (**"The Bothy"**) is still occupied by Lady Barbara Kwiatkowski, daughter of the 7th Earl, but the titles have passed to a distant relative who is now the 9th Earl of Dartmouth.

*This "Rockingham Whig" was eventually converted to Conservatism by Pitt the Younger, and perhaps swayed in time by his associations with Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. While his son was less fastidious and prayerful, he gained greater respect and "honour" from the Royal Household. The third Earl was nominated and invested a "Knight of the Garter" on 27 May 1805 in lieu of his father who had died.

Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham, K.G.

Birth: 13 May 1730 at Wentworth-Woodhouse Park, Yorkshire

Lineage: Fifth but only surviving son of Thomas Watson-Wentworth II (6th Baron and 1st Marquess of Rockingham) by his wife Lady Mary, d. of Daniel Finch, 7th Earl of Winchilsea & 2nd Earl of Nottingham, by his wife Anne, d. of Christopher Hatton, 1st Viscount Hatton of Gretton. Thomas II was the only son of Thomas Watson-Wentworth I, [3rd son of Edward Watson (2nd Baron Rockingham) and Lady Anne, d. of Sir Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford],by his wife Alice Proby.

Education: Westminster School, 1738-1746. The Rockinghams decided early on to send him abroad under the tutelage of George Quarme, instead of to Cambridge. He remained extravagantly abroad until he learned of his father's death and his succession to the family titles and estates on 14 Dec. 1750.

Marriage: (26 Feb. 1752) Miss Mary Bright, d. of the late Thomas of Badsworth (Yorkshire) by his wife Margaret Norton, and step-daughter of Sir John Ramsden of Byrom, a close friend of the Watson-Wentworth family. [no issue]

Offices:

Lord of the Bedchamber for Georges II & III	[July 1751 to 3 Nov. 1762]
Lord Lieutenant of the North Ridings, Yorkshire	[July 1751 to Dec. 1762]
Lord Lieutenant of the West Ridings, Yorkshire	[July 1751 to Dec. 1762]
Vice-Admiral of Yorkshire	[27 Feb. 1755 to 29 Jan. 1763]
Sceptre-bearer at Coronation	[22 Sept. 1761]
Trustee of Westminster School	[14 April 1763 until death]
Governor of the Charterhouse	[11 Oct. 1763 until death]
First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)	[13 July 1765 to July 1766]
Lord Lieutenant of the North Ridings, Yorkshire	[17 Aug. 1765 until death]
Lord Lieutenant of the West Ridings, Yorkshire	[17 Aug. 1765 until death]
Vice-Admiral of Yorkshire	[18 Dec. 1776 until death]
First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)	[27 March 1782 until death]

Death: 1 July 1782 at Wentworth-Woodhouse, and buried in the choir of York Minster.

Honours: First Earl of Malton [created on 17 Sept. 1750 in the peerage of Ireland] with title: Baron Malton, in County Wicklow, in Ireland.
Second Marquess of Rockingham with titles: Viscount Higham, Baron Rockingham, Baron Wath, and Baron Harrowden [in peerage of England & Great Britain]. Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 4 February 1760.

Descent: On his death, all of his honours became *extinct*, and have never been revived. The vast Wentworth estates (& after Dec. 1804, the Bright estates) devolved on William, 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, whose mother was the eldest of Lord Rockingham's four surviving sisters. Until recent times, each Earl Fitzwilliam resided at both Yorkshire homes, **Wentworth-Woodhouse & Milton Park.** While the Stubbs' collection has been retained by the family of Lady Olive, these two estates have passed to new ownership.

Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubginy, K.G.

Birth: 22 February 1735 at Richmond House in Arlington Street, London

Lineage: Eldest son of Charles Lennox (2nd Duke) by his wife Sarah, d/h. of William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cardogan, by his wife Margaretta Cecilia, d. of John Munter, Councillor of the Court of Holland. The 2nd Duke was the only sons of Charles Lennox (1st Duke), [the son of King Charles II and his mistress Louise de Keroualle, the Duchess of Portsmouth & Aubigny], by Anne, d. of Francis Brudenell, by Frances, d. of James Savile, 1st Earl of Sussex. Succeeded to his father's titles and estates on 8 August 1750.

Education: Westminster School, enrolled 1745 as a Town-boy, living at Richmond House. From 1752 to 1756, he traveled on a continental "Grand Tour". While abroad, he graduated at Leyden University on 28 Oct. 1753. Over time, he furthered his education in the Army, holding numerous positions until reaching the pinnacle of his military career as "Field Marshal" on 30 July 1792.

Marriage: (1 April 1757) Lady Mary Bruce, d. of Charles, 3rd Earl of Ailesbury and 4th Earl of Elgin, by Caroline, only d. of John Campbell, 4th Duke of Argyll. [no issue]

Offices:

Founding-member of the Society of Arts	[1754]
Lord of the Bedchamber	[Nov. to Dec. 1760]
Sceptre-bearer at Coronation	[22 Sept. 1761]
Lord Lieutenant of Sussex	[1763 until death]
Ambassador to the French Court	[Nov. 1765 to Feb. 1766]
Secretary of State for the South	[23 May 1766 to July 1766]
Master-General of the Ordnance	[30 March 1782 to April 1783,
Master-General of the Ordnance	[Dec. 1783 to Jan. 1795]
Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards	[1795 until death]

Death: 29 December 1806 at Goodwood House, Sussex, and buried in Lennox family mausoleum under Chichester Cathedral, aged 71.

Honours: Third Duke of Richmond and Lennox with titles: Earl of March and Kinrara, Earl of Darnley, Baron Settrington, and Baron Torbolton.
Elected & Invested as a "Knight of the Garter" on 19 April 1782.
*Third Duke of Aubginy, as recognized by King Louis XVI in August 1776, in right of his male-descent from John Stuart of Darnley, 1st Seigneur of Aubigny.

Descent: The 3rd Duke was succeeded in all titles and estates by his nephew, the only son of his brother, Lord George Lennox. **Goodwood House** and the Lennox titles have descended from father-to-son for seven generations, since the time of the 4th Duke. The present 10th Duke's heir, the Earl of March has recently restored the Regency interiors in memory of the third Duke and his successors.
**In 1876, the 6th Duke received the "Dukedom of Gordon" from Queen Victoria.

*A maverick among great statesmen, he won the fear, hatred, and later friendship of many Whigs and Tories, alike. Richmond shone brightly, standing for principles he believed in to the fullest. He came closest to a true party-man under Pitt the Younger, sharing similar views of reaction and reform.

Appendix C

THE ORDER OF THE GARTER

This third appendix provides a complete listing of the seventy-three men who were honored with membership into the Order of the Garter, during the reign of George III, from 1760 to 1820. This roster was compiled from:

W. A. Shaw, The Knights of England.
G. E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage.
G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter.

The Most Noble Order of the Garter is the senior British Order of Chivalry and has enjoyed international prestige since its foundation by Edward III in 1348. The original members were the Sovereign and the Prince of Wales, together with twenty-four Knight-Companions. A Statute enacted on 31 May 1786 provided that the sons of the Sovereign should not be reckoned in, but be additional to, the number of 25. A Statute enacted on 10 January 1805 restored the Prince of Wales to the number 25 ordinary knights, while dictating that all lineal descendants of George II already members, or hereafter elected, to number as Supernumerary Knights. From 1813, it has been customary to admit foreign sovereigns and members of their royal families by special statute.

The Sovereign has always chosen these Knights personally, though some were proposed by prime ministers since the eighteenth-century. In accordance with the Sovereign's wishes, members are then elected, invested, and later installed at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Along with the honour of adopting the K.G. after his name, a man may wear the blue garter below his left knee, a blue riband (sash) across his chest, and the Garter star on his left breast with evening dress or uniform. The Order's motto is ***HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*** ('Shame on him who thinks this evil'). Most of those studied received a Garter knighthood, and can be seen with their Garter stars. I have specifically included Granville, 2nd Earl Gower, as an example of a Knight in "Garter Robes."

Knights of the Garter

27 May 1762	Prince William Henry of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of Gloucester & Edinburgh)
27 May 1762	John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute
23 April 1764	Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz
23 April 1764	George Montagu-Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax
26 Dec. 1765	George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales (later King George IV)
26 Dec. 1765	Prince Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel (later Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel)
26 Dec. 1765	Charles Keppel, 3rd Earl of Albemarle

21 Dec. 1767	Prince Henry Frederick of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of Cumberland & Strathearn)
12 Dec. 1768	George Spencer-Churchill, 4th Duke of Marlborough
20 Sept. 1769	Augustus Henry FitzRoy, 3rd Duke of Grafton
11 Feb. 1771	Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Earl Gower (later 1st Marquess of Stafford)
19 June 1771	Prince Frederick of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of York & Albany)
18 June 1772	Frederick North, 7th Baron North (later 2nd Earl of Guilford)
3 June 1778	Henry Howard, 12th Earl of Suffolk & 5th Earl of Berkshire
3 June 1778	William Henry Nassau de Zuylestein, 4th Earl of Rochford
3 June 1778	Thomas Thynne, 3rd Viscount Weymouth (later 1st Marquess of Bath)
19 April 1782	Prince William Henry of Brunswick-Luneburg (later King William IV)
19 April 1782	Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny
19 April 1782	William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire
19 April 1782	William Petty-Fitzmaurice, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne
3 Oct. 1782	Charles Manners, 4th Duke of Rutland
2 June 1786	Prince Edward of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of Kent & Strathearn)
2 June 1786	Prince Ernest Augustus of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover)
2 June 1786	William, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (later Elector of the Holy Roman Empire)
2 June 1786	Henry Somerset, 5th Duke of Beaufort
2 June 1786	George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham
2 June 1786	Charles Cornwallis, 2nd Earl Cornwallis (later 1st Marquess Cornwallis)
9 April 1788	John Frederick Sackville, 3rd Duke of Dorset
9 April 1788	Hugh Smithson-Percy II, 2nd Duke of Northumberland
15 Dec. 1790	Ernest Lewis, Duke of Saxe-Gotha
15 Dec. 1790	Francis Godolphin Osborne, 5th Duke of Leeds
15 Dec. 1790	Thomas Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham
12 June 1793	Robert Cecil, 1st Marquess of Salisbury
12 June 1793	John Fane, 10th Earl of Westmorland
12 June 1793	Frederick Howard, 5th Earl of Carlisle
28 May 1794	Henry Scott, 4th Duke of Buccleuch and Earl of Doncaster

16 July 1794	Prince William Frederick of Brunswick-Luneburg (later Duke of Gloucester & Edinburgh)
16 July 1794	William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland
2 June 1797	Richard Howe, 4th Viscount and 1st Earl Howe
1 March 1799	George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer
14 Aug. 1799	John Jeffreys Pratt, 2nd Earl Camden (later 1st Marquess Camden)
3 June 1801	John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe
25 Nov. 1803	John Henry Manners, 5th Duke of Rutland
25 Nov. 1803	Philip Yorke, 3rd Earl of Hardwicke
17 June 1805	Henry Charles Somerset, 6th Duke of Beaufort
17 June 1805	John James Hamilton, 1st Marquess of Abercorn
17 June 1805	George Herbert, 11th Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery
17 June 1805	George Finch, 8th Earl of Winchilsea & 4th Earl of Nottingham
17 June 1805	Philip Stanhope, 5th Earl of Chesterfield
27 May 1805	George Legge, 3rd Earl of Dartmouth
22 March 1806	George Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Marquess of Stafford (later 1st Duke of Sutherland)
18 July 1807	Francis Seymour, 2nd Marquess of Hertford
18 July 1807	William Lowther, 1st Earl of Lonsdale
3 March 1810	Richard Colley Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley
26 March 1812	Charles Lennox, 4th Duke of Richmond, Lennox & Aubigny
26 March 1812	William Graham, 3rd Duke of Montrose & Earl of Graham
12 June 1812	Francis Rawdon, 2nd Earl of Moira (later 1st Marquess of Hastings)
19 June 1812	Henry Pelham-Clinton, 3rd Duke of Newcastle
4 March 1813	Arthur Wellesley, 1st Marquess of Wellington (later 1st Duke)
27 July 1813	Czar Alexander I, Emperor of All the Russias
21 April 1814	Louis XVIII, King of France

9 June 1814	Francis I, Emperor of Austria
9 June 1814	Frederick William III, King of Prussia
9 June 1814	Robert Banks Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of Liverpool
9 June 1814	Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (later 2nd Marquess of Londonderry)
10 Aug. 1814	Ferdinand VII, King of Spain
10 Aug. 1814	William Frederick, Prince of Orange (later King of the Netherlands)
23 May 1816	Leopold, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (later King of the Belgians)
24 July 1817	Henry Bathurst, 3rd Earl Bathurst
19 Feb. 1818	Henry William Paget, 1st Marquess of Anglesey
25 Nov. 1819	Hugh Smithson-Percy III, 3rd Duke of Northumberland
7 June 1820	Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (2nd M. Buckingham, later 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos)

Appendix D

THE ORDER OF ST. PATRICK

This fourth appendix introduces the third of the great Orders of Knighthood in the United Kingdom. This information was included as an example of the prestige and honours distributed during the reign of George III. The following history and roster were compiled substantially from:

> Hugo Vickers, Royal Orders: The Honours and The Honoured.
> Peter Galloway, The Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, 1783-1983.
> G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage.

> Vickers wrote: "In those days Ireland was ruled by the Lord Lieutenant, acting as the King's representative, and the Chief Secretary, who was the equivalent of the Prime Minister. Both were English and there was an Irish House of Lords and House of Commons. In practice the Lord Lieutenant was only in Ireland for about six months of his two years of appointment, and thus the real power was yielded by a group of Irish peers. It was partly to frustrate them and to regain a measure of control that Lord Townshend introduced the idea of an Irish Order to match the Thistle in Scotland. But it was not until Earl Temple became Lord Lieutenant in 1782, that the question of a new Order became a serous possibility."

The Order of St. Patrick was instituted under warrant by George III on 5 February 1783 "as a gesture of good-will towards Ireland and in the intention of giving pleasure to a number of Irish peers who had rendered distinguishable service and for whom there were no vacancies in the *Order of the Garter*." While named after the patron saint of Ireland, this rather conciliatory Order's motto was ***QUIS SEPARABIT*** ('Who shall separate?') to symbolize the harmony being sought between Great Britain and Ireland. The fifteen original Knights (the "KNIGHTS FOUNDERS") were nominated on 5 February 1783, invested on 11 March and installed on 17 March – with extravagant ceremonies at Dublin Castle and St. Patrick's Cathedral. This event was immortalized by John Sherwin's The Installation Banquet of the Knights of St. Patrick, which hangs in The National Gallery of Ireland. Further interest may be satisfied with the particulars concerning "the Ribband of St. Patrick" addressed by Mr. W.W. Grenville and Lord Temple within Memoirs of The Court and Cabinets of George The Third.[1] Sadly this order of twenty-two Knights fell into abeyance upon the death of H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester on 10 June 1974.

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[1] Buckingham and Chandos, Richard Plantagenet...Grenville, The Second Duke of, ed. Memoirs of The Court and Cabinets of George The Third, From Original Family Documents. 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853), 2:138-140.

Knights Founders of St. Patrick

H.R.H. The Prince Edward, later Duke of Kent and Strathearn

William Fitzgerald, second Duke of Leinster

12th Earl (later Marquess) of Clanricarde

6th Earl of Antrim

6th Earl of Westmeath

5th Earl of Inchiquin (later Marquess of Thomond)

6th Earl (later Marquess) of Drogheda

2nd Earl of Tyrone (later Marquess of Waterford)

2nd Earl of Shannon

2nd Earl of Clanbrassil

2nd Earl of Mornington (later Marquess Wellesley)

2nd Earl of Courtown

1st Earl of Bective

Earl of Ely[2]

[2] Through ill health, the Earl of Ely was absent from the investiture and installation – rendering him ineligible to be one of the Knight Founders. He died May 1783 without taking his honour.

Appendix E

THE ROYAL FAMILY

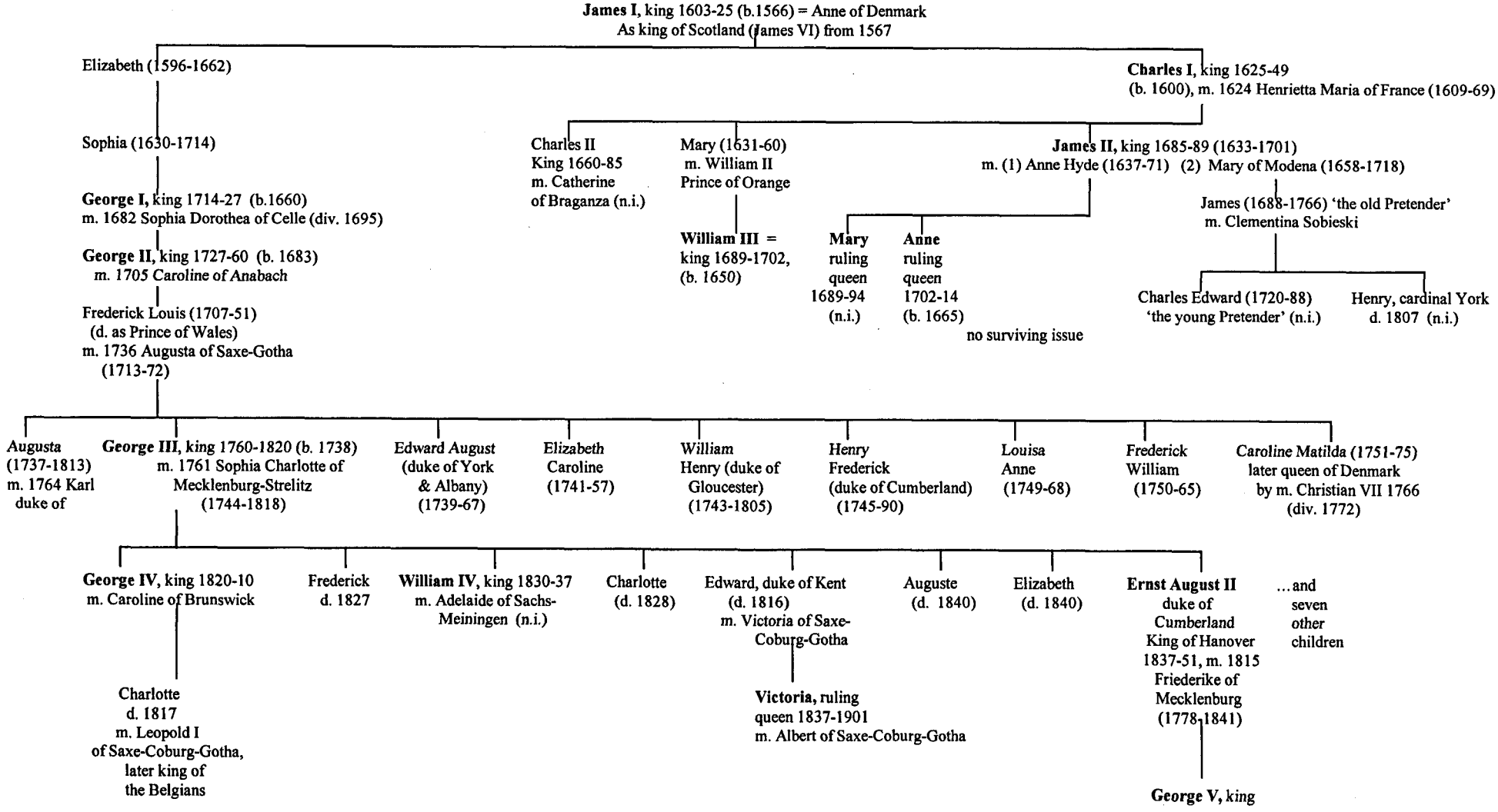
This fifth appendix concentrates on King George III and his immediate family. King George III of Great Britain, Ireland, and France was born 24 May 1738, the eldest son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. He succeeded his grandfather George II on 25 October 1760, and was crowned on 21 September 1761 at Westminster Abbey. Shortly before his coronation, George married Princess Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in the Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace, London. This marriage proved fruitful with sixteen children being born – though not all lived. George suffered off and on from a disease known as "porphyria" which led contemporaries to think he was mad. He suffered long years of mental-instability, with his son finally being declared "Prince Regent" in 1811. George III died on 29 January 1820 at Windsor Castle, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Issue:

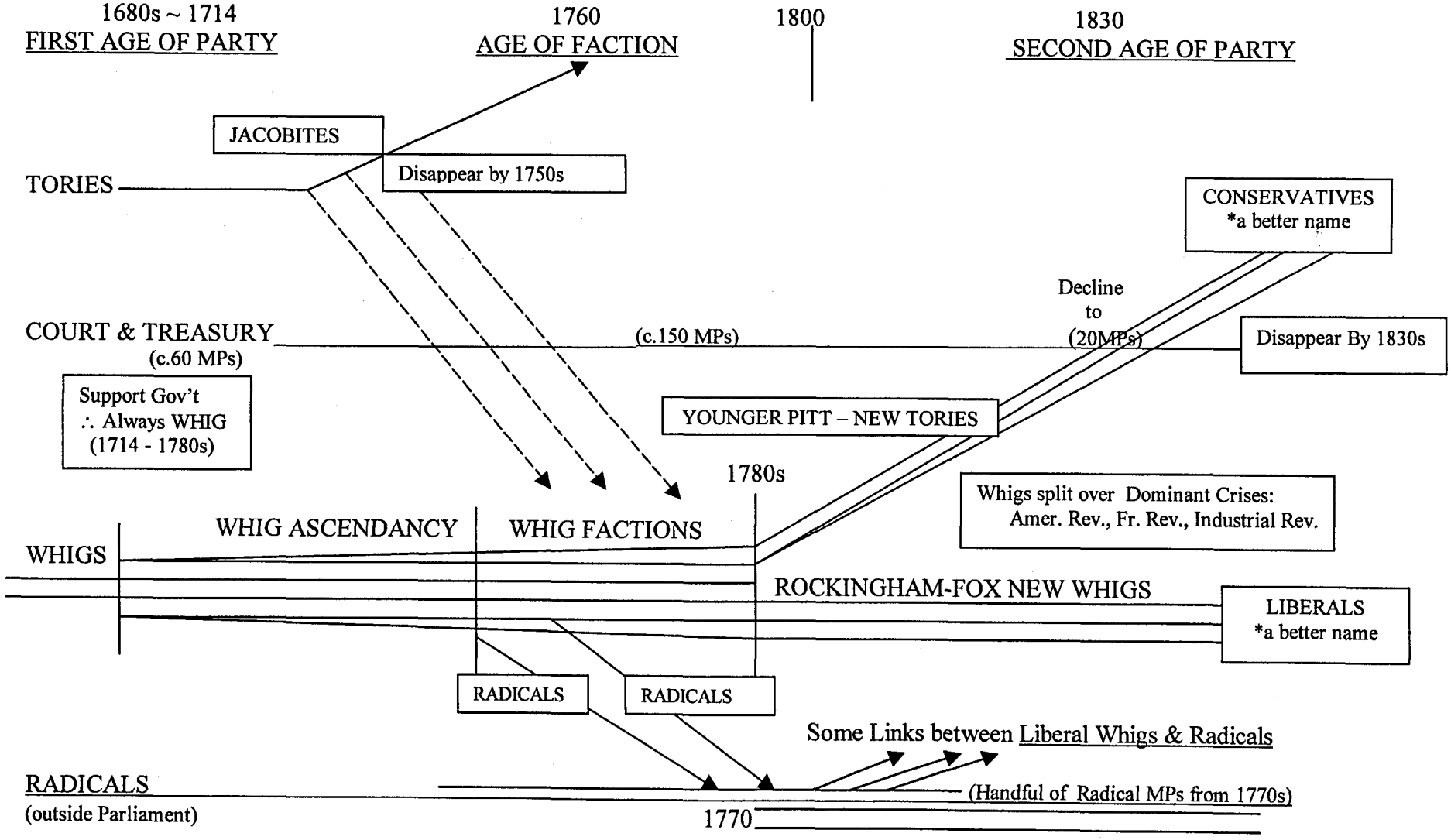
1. George, Prince of Wales [later George IV] (1792-1830)
2. Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, K.G. (1763-1827)
3. Miscarriage
4. William, Duke of Clarence [later William IV] (1765-1837]
5. Princess Charlotte, Queen of Wurttenburg (1776-1828)
6. Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathearn (1767-1820)
7. Princess Auguste (1768-1840)
8. Princess Elizabeth, Landgravine and Princess of Hesse-Homburg (1770-1840)
9. Princess Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale [later King Ernst I of Hanover]
10. Prince Augustus, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843)
11. Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge (1774-1850)
12. Princess Mary, Duchess of Gloucester (1776-1857)
13. Princess Sophia (1777-1848)
14. Prince Octavius (1779-1783)
15. Prince Alfred (1780-1782)
16. Princess Amelia (1783-1810)

The Protestant Succession and the House of Hanover

(ruling kings in bold type)



POLITICAL SPECTRUM OF THE LONG EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY



Appendix F

Appendix G

ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES & THEIR OCCUPANTS

This seventh appendix concentrates on those *Spiritual Peers* who ruled the eighteenth-century ecclesiastical world in Great Britain, from the time of George III's accession to the advent of Pitt the Younger's administration. Many of these Episcopal office-holders were connected to the "Bloomsbury Gang" through blood relationships or political affiliations. As demonstrated in this thesis, the Church of England represented only one area where the aristocracy dominated British governance. To comprehend the religious polity and practices of this chosen epoch, one may find the following texts helpful:

Overton & Abbey, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century. (2 vols.)
Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and Its Bishops, 1700-1800. (2 vols.)
Gordon Rupp, Religion in England, 1688-1791.
Norman Sykes, Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century.
Peter Virgin, The Church in the Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840.

SPIRITUAL PEERS, 1760-1784

	CANTERBURY
1758	Thomas Secker
1768	Hon. Frederick Cornwallis
1783	John Moore

	YORK
1757	John Gilbert
1761	Hon. Robert Hay Drummond
1777	William Markham

For convenience of reference the remaining sees are arranged alphabetically.

	ST. ASAPH
1761	Richard Newcome
1769	Jonathan Shipley

	BANGOR
1756	John Egerton
1769	John Ewer
1775	John Moore
1783	John Warren

	BATH AND WELLS
1743	Edward Willes
1774	Charles Moss

	BRISTOL
1758	Philip Yonge
1761	Thomas Newton
1782	Lewis Bagot
1783	Christopher Wilson

CARLISLE

1747 Richard Osbaldeston
1762 Charles Lyttleton
1769 Edmund Law
1787 John Douglas

CHICHESTER

1754 Sir William Ashburnham, Bart.

DURHAM

1752 Hon. Richard Trevor
1771 John Egerton

EXETER

1747 George Lavington
1762 Hon. Frederick Keppel
1778 John Ross

HEREFORD

1746 Lord James Beauclerk
1781 Hon. John Harley

LINCOLN

1744 John Thomas (1)
1761 John Green
1779 Thomas Thurlow

LONDON

1748 Thomas Sherlock
1761 Thomas Hayter
1762 Richard Osbaldeston
1764 Richard Terrick
1777 Robert Lowth

CHESTER

1752 Edmund Keene
1771 William Markham
1776 Beilby Porteus

ST. DAVID'S

1752 Anthony Ellis
1761 Samuel Squire
1766 Robert Lowth
1766 Charles Moss
1774 James Yorke
1779 John Warren
1784 Edward Smallwell

ELY

1754 Matthias Mawson
1771 Edmund Keene
1781 Hon. James Yorke

GLOUCESTER

1760 William Warburton
1779 Hon. James Yorke
1781 Samuel Halifax

LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY

1750 Hon. Frederick Cornwallis
1768 John Egerton
1771 Hon. Brownlow North
1774 Richard Hurd
1781 James Cornwallis
[Earl of Cornwallis]

LLANDAFF

1755 Richard Newcome
1761 John Ewer
1768 Jonathan Shipley
1769 Hon. Shute Barrington
1782 Richard Watson

NORWICH

1749 Thomas Haytor
1761 Philip Yonge
1783 Lewis Bagot

OXFORD

1758 John Hume
1766 Robert Lowth
1777 John Butler

ROCHESTER

1756 Zachariah Pearce
1774 John Thomas (3)

SODOR AND MAN

1755 Mark Hildesley
1773 Richard Richmond
1780 George Mason
1784 Claudius Crigan

WORCHESTER

1759 James Johnston
1774 Hon. Brownlow North
1781 Richard Hurd

PETERBOROUGH

1757 Richard Terrick
1764 Robert Lambe
1769 John Hinchocliffe

SALISBURY

1757 John Thomas (2)
1761 Hon. Robert Hay Drummond
1761 John Thomas (1)
1766 John Hume
1782 Hon. Shute Barrington

WINCHESTER

1734 Benjamin Hoadly
1761 John Thomas (2)
1781 Hon. Brownlow North

Appendix H

GREAT OFFICES OF THE CROWN
CHIEF POSTS IN THE GOVERNMENT

This eighth appendix details the State Officers who governed Great Britain from 1784 to 1815. Unlike the *sinecures of the past*, such as Master of the Buckhounds, these positions of honour and prestige carried tremendous responsibilities, and dictated time commitments, in exchange for proximity to the monarch and salaried rewards. The thirty-six below are listed according to precedence, as with most matters in the hierarchical British Empire. The one exception within this rule of precedence is that the ***Secretaries of State*** rank at State events along with the first four Great Offices of The Crown and the Lord Bishops of the realm. *After March 1782, the management of each ruling ministry's Government under a Prime Minister (1st Lord of the Treasury) was divided among the Secretaries of State for the Home Department, for Foreign Affairs, and for War and the Colonies.

I. Lord High Chancellor
II. Lord High Treasurer {First Lord of the Treasury}
III. Lord President of the Council
IV. Lord Privy Seal
V. Lord Great Chamberlain of England
VI. Earl Marshall of England
VII. Lord High Admiral {First Lord of the Admiralty}
VIII. Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household
IX. Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household
X. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland
XI. Master of the House
XII. Master-General of the Ordnance
XIII. Groom of the Stole
XIV. First Commissioner of Trade and Plantations
XV. Paymaster-General of His Majesty's Forces
XVI. Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners
XVII. Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard
XVIII. Constable of the Tower of London
XIX. Treasurer of His Majesty's Household
XX. Comptroller of His Majesty's Household
XXI. Cofferer of His Majesty's Household
XXII. Chancellor of His Majesty's Household
XXIII. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
XXIV. Treasurer of the Navy
XXV. Principal Secretaries of State*
XXVI. Secretary-at-War
XXVII. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench
XXVIII. Master of the Rolls
XXIX. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas
XXX. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer
XXXI. Other Judges appointed since H.M. Accession
XXXII. His Majesty's First Sargeant-at-Law
XXXIII. His Majesty's Attorney-General
XXXIV. His Majesty's Solicitor-General
XXXV. Master of the Mint
XXXVI. Speaker of the House of Commons

ILLUSTRATIONS

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[Number 183 – "The Spectator's Anatomy of the Peerage"]

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Matthew Corkern is a senior Master of Divinity candidate within Berkeley Divinity School at Yale, concentrating in liturgical studies and Anglican theology. He was born in Brookhaven, Mississippi, where his parents currently reside. As a dual-graduate of the University of Richmond, Matthew received a double BA in leadership studies and history, and his recent MA in 18th/19th-century British History. In between degrees, he worked in a law office and as the Legislative Lobbyist for the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia. In the summer of 1999, he completed Clinical Pastoral Education as a chaplain for pediatric and neurology patients within Dartmouth-Hitchcock Medical Center in Lebanon, New Hampshire. Hailing as a candidate for the Diocese of Virginia from his home parish, St. James's Episcopal Church – Richmond, Matthew will be ordained into Episcopal *Holy Orders* on 23 June 2001. In Connecticut, Matthew has worked as seminarian-intern at St. Mark's Episcopal Church – New Canaan, and inaugurated an annual Yale-Berkeley pilgrimage to enable Episcopal clergy and laity to experience the spiritual as well as cultural roots of their tradition within Great Britain. While a committed historian, genealogist, and writer, he enjoys the outdoors: mountain biking, sailing, and currently learning to play golf.